THE

MONTHLY EPITOME,

For DECEMBER 1801.

CXI. *Account of the Life and Writings of William Robertſon*, D.D.F.R.S.E. late Principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh, and Hiſtoriographer to his Majeſty for Scotland. 4to. pp. 202. 9s. 8vo. pp. 307. 5s. *Cadell and Davies.*

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EXTRACTS.

DR. ROBERTSON'S EARLY LIFE.

"WILLIAM Robertſon, D.D. late principal of the univerſity of Edinburgh, and hiſtoriographer to his Majeſty for Scotland, was the ſon of the Rev. William Robertſon, miniſter of the Old Gray Friar's Church, and of Eleanor Pitcairn, daughter of David Pitcairn, Eſq. of Dreghorn. By his father he was deſcended from the Robertſons of Gladney, in the county of Fife; a branch of the reſpectable family of the ſame name, which has, for many generations, poſſeſſed the eſtate of Struan in Perthſhire.

"He was born in 1721, at Borthwick (in the county of Mid-Lothian), where his father was then miniſter; and received the firſt rudiments of his education at the ſchool of Dalkeith, which, from the high reputation of Mr. Leſlie as a teacher, was at that time reſorted to from all parts of Scotland. In 1733, he again joined his father's family on their removal to Edinburgh; and, towards the end of the ſame year, he entered on his courſe of academical ſtudy.

"From this period till the year 1759, when, by the publication of his Scottiſh Hiſtory, he fixed a new æra in the literary annals of his country, the habits and occurrences of his life were ſuch as to ſupply few materials for biography; and the imagination is left to fill up a long interval ſpent in the ſilent purſuit of letters, and enlivened by the ſecret anticipation of future eminence. His genius was not of that forward and irregular growth, which forces itſelf prematurely on public notice; and it was only a few intimate and diſcerning friends, who, in the native vigour of his powers, and in the patient culture by which he laboured to improve them, perceived the earneſts of a fame that was to laſt for ever.

"The large proportion of Dr. Robertſon's life which he thus devoted to obſcurity, will appear the more remarkable,

markable, when contraſted with his early and enthuſiaſtic love of ſtudy. Some of his oldeſt common-place books, ſtill in his ſon's poſſeſſion (dated in the years 1735, 1736, and 1737), bear marks of a perſevering aſſiduity, unexampled perhaps at ſo tender an age; and the motto prefixed to all of them *(Vita ſine literis mors eſt)* atteſts how ſoon thoſe views and ſentiments were formed, which, to his lateſt hour, continued to guide and to dignify his ambition. In times ſuch as the preſent, when literary diſtinction leads to other rewards, the labours of the ſtudious are often prompted by motives very different from the hope of fame, or the inſpiration of genius; but when Dr. Robertſon's career commenced, theſe were the only incitements which exiſted to animate his exertions. The trade of authorſhip was unknown in Scotland; and the rank which that country had early acquired among the learned nations of Europe, had, for many years, been ſuſtained entirely by a ſmall number of eminent men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an honourable and diſintereſted zeal in the ungainful walks of abſtract ſcience." *P.* 1.

PUBLICATION OF HIS HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

"FROM this moment the complexion of his fortune was changed. After a long ſtruggle, in an obſcure though a happy and hoſpitable retreat, with a narrow income and an increaſing family, his proſpects brightened at once. He ſaw independence and affluence within his reach; and flattered himſelf with the idea of giving a ſtill bolder flight to his genius, when no longer depreſſed by thoſe tender anxieties which ſo often fall to the lot of men, whoſe purſuits and habits, while they heighten the endearments of domeſtic life, withdraw them from the paths of intereſt and ambition.

"In venturing on a ſtep, the ſucceſs of which was to be ſo deciſive, not only with reſpect to his fame, but to his future comfort, it is not ſurpriſing that he ſhould have felt, in a more than common degree, 'that anxiety 'and diffidence ſo natural to an author 'in delivering to the world his firſt 'performance.'—'The time' (he obſerves in his preface) 'which I have 'employed in attempting to render it 'worthy of the public approbation, it 'is perhaps prudent to conceal, till it 'ſhall be known whether that approba-'tion is ever to be beſtowed.'

"Among the many congratulatory letters addreſſed to him on this occaſion, a few have been accidentally preſerved; and, although the contents of ſome of them may not now appear very important, they ſtill derive a certain degree of intereſt from the names and characters of the writers, and from the ſympathetic ſhare which a good-natured reader cannot fail to take in Dr. Robertſon's feelings, when he perceived the firſt dawning of his future fame." *P.* 13.

"A letter from Mr. Horace Walpole, to whom ſome ſpecimens of the work had been communicated during the author's viſit to London, is the earlieſt teſtimony of this kind which I have found among his papers. It is dated January 18, 1759.

"'I expect with impatience your 'book, which you are ſo kind as to 'ſay you ordered for me, and for 'which I already give you many thanks: 'the ſpecimen I ſaw convinces me that 'I do not thank you raſhly. Good 'hiſtorians are the moſt ſcarce of all 'writers; and no wonder! a good 'ſtyle is not very common—thorough 'information is ſtill more rare: and if 'theſe meet, what a chance that im-'partiality ſhould be added to them! 'Your ſtyle, Sir, I may venture to ſay, 'I ſaw was uncommonly good; I have 'reaſon to think your information ſo: 'and in the few times I had the plea-'ſure of converſing with you, your 'good ſenſe and candour made me con-'clude, that even on a ſubject which 'we are fooliſh enough to make *party*, 'you preſerve your judgment unbiaſſed. 'I fear I ſhall not preſerve mine ſo; 'the too kind acknowledgments that I 'frequently receive from gentlemen of 'your country, of the juſt praiſe that 'I paid to merit, will make me, at 'leaſt for the future, not very unpre-'judiced. If the opinion of ſo trifling 'a writer as I am was of any conſe-'quence, it would then be worth 'Scotland's while to let the world 'know, that when my book was writ-'ten, I had no reaſon to be partial 'to it. But, Sir, your country will 'truſt to the merit of its natives, not 'to foreign teſtimonials, for its repu-'tation.'

"This

"This letter was followed immediately by another from Dr. Robertſon's bookſeller, Mr. Millar. It is dated 27th January 1759, a few days before the publication of the book, and conveys very flattering expreſſions of approbation from Dr. Warburton and Mr. Garrick, to both of whom copies had been privately ſent at the author's requeſt: expreſſions, which, though they cannot now add much to a reputation ſo ſolidly eſtabliſhed, were gratifying at the time, and do honour to the candour and diſcernment of the writers." *P.* 15.

"Of this work, ſo flattering to the author by its firſt ſucceſs, no fewer than fourteen editions were publiſhed before his death; and he had the ſatisfaction to ſee its popularity increaſe to the laſt, notwithſtanding the repeated aſſaults it had to encounter from various writers, diſtinguiſhed by their controverſial acuteneſs, and ſeconded by all the prepoſſeſſions which are likely to influence the opinions of the majority of readers. The character of Mary has been delineated anew, and the tale of her misfortunes has again been told, with no common powers of expreſſion and pathos, by an hiſtorian more indulgent to her errors, and more undiſtinguiſhing in his praiſe: but, after all, it is in the hiſtory of Dr. Robertſon that every one ſtill reads the tranſactions of her reign; and ſuch is his ſkilful contraſt of light and ſhade, aided by the irreſiſtible charm of his narration, that the ſtory of the beautiful and unfortunate Queen, as related by him, excites on the whole a deeper intereſt in her fortunes, and a more lively ſympathy with her fate, than have been produced by all the attempts to canonize her memory, whether inſpired by the ſympathetic zeal of the Romiſh church, or the enthuſiaſm of Scottiſh chivalry.

"In peruſing the letters addreſſed to Dr. Robertſon on the publication of this book, it is ſomewhat remarkable that I have not found one in which he is charged with the ſlighteſt unfairneſs towards the Queen; and that, on the contrary, almoſt all his correſpondents accuſe him of an undue prepoſſeſſion in her favour. 'I am afraid' (ſays Mr. Hume) 'that you, as well as myſelf, 'have drawn Mary's character with 'too great ſoftenings. She was undoubtedly a violent woman at all 'times. You will ſee in Murden proofs 'of the utmoſt rancour againſt her innocent, good-natured, dutiful ſon. 'She certainly diſinherited him. What 'think you of a conſpiracy for kidnapping him, and delivering him a priſoner to the King of Spain, never to 'recover his liberty till he ſhould turn 'Catholic?——Tell Goodall, that if 'he can but give me up Queen Mary, 'I hope to ſatisfy him in every thing 'elſe; and he will have the pleaſure of 'ſeeing John Knox and the reformers made very ridiculous.'

"'It is plain' (ſays Mr. Walpole) 'that you wiſh to excuſe Mary; and 'yet it is ſo plain that you never violate truth in her favour, that I own I 'think ſtill worſe of her than I did, 'ſince I read your hiſtory.'

"Dr. Birch expreſſes himſelf much to the ſame purpoſe. 'If the ſecond 'volume of the State Papers of Lord 'Burleigh, publiſhed ſince Chriſtmas 'here, had appeared before your hiſtory had been finiſhed, it would have 'furniſhed you with reaſons for entertaining a leſs favourable opinion of 'Mary Queen of Scots in one or two 'points, than you ſeem at preſent poſſeſſed of.'

"Dr. John Blair, too, in a letter dated from London, obſerves to Dr. Robertſon, that 'the only general objection to his work was founded on 'his tenderneſs for Queen Mary.'—'Lord Cheſterfield' (ſays he) 'though 'he approves much of your hiſtory, 'told me, that he finds this to be a 'bias which no Scotchman can get the 'better of'." *P.* 24.

PUBLICATION OF THE HISTORY OF CHARLES V.—LETTER FROM MR. HUME.

"THE delays which retarded the publication of the Hiſtory of Charles V. together with the author's eſtabliſhed popularity as a writer, had raiſed the curioſity of the public to a high pitch before that work appeared; and perhaps there never was a book, unconnected with the circumſtances of the times, that was expected with more general impatience. It is unneceſſary for me to ſay, that theſe expectations were not diſappointed; nor would it be worth while to ſwell this memoir

with a repetition of the eulogiums laviſhed on the author in the literary journals of the day.

" The paragraphs which immediately follow are part of a letter from Mr. Hume, without any date; but written, as appears from the contents, while the Hiſtory of Charles V. was ſtill in the preſs. The levity of the ſtyle forms ſuch a ſtriking contraſt to the character which this grave and philoſophical hiſtorian ſuſtains in his publications, that I have ſometimes heſitated about the propriety of ſubjecting to the criticiſms of the world ſo careleſs an effuſion of gaiety and affection. I truſt, however, that to ſome it will not be wholly unintereſting to enjoy a glimpſe of the writer and his correſpondent in the habits of private intercourſe; and that to them the playful and good-natured irony of Mr. Hume will ſuggeſt not unpleaſing pictures of the hours which they borrowed from buſineſs and ſtudy. Dr. Robertſon uſed frequently to ſay, that in Mr. Hume's gaiety there was ſomething which approached to *infantine;* and that he had found the ſame thing ſo often exemplified in the circle of his other friends, that he was almoſt diſpoſed to conſider it as characteriſtical of genius.

" ' I got yeſterday from Strahan ' about thirty ſheets of your hiſtory to ' be ſent over to Suard *, and laſt night ' and this morning have run them over ' with great avidity. I could not deny ' myſelf the ſatisfaction (which I hope ' alſo will not diſpleaſe you) of ex- ' preſſing preſently my extreme appro- ' bation of them. To ſay only they ' are very well written, is by far too ' faint an expreſſion, and much inferior ' to the ſentiments I feel: they are ' compoſed with nobleneſs, with dig- ' nity, with elegance, and with judg- ' ment, to which there are few equals. ' They even excel, and, I think, in a ' ſenſible degree, your Hiſtory of Scot- ' land. I propoſe to myſelf great plea- ' ſure in being the only man in Eng- ' land, during ſome months, who will ' be in the ſituation of doing you juſ- ' tice, after which you may certainly ' expect that my voice will be drowned ' in that of the public.

" ' You know that you and I have ' always been on the footing of finding ' in each other's productions *ſomething ' to blame, and ſomething to commend;* ' and therefore you may perhaps expect ' alſo ſome ſeaſoning of the former ' kind; but really neither my leiſure ' nor inclination allowed me to make ' ſuch remarks, and I ſincerely believe ' you have afforded me very ſmall ma- ' terials for them. However, ſuch par- ' ticulars as occur to my memory I ſhall ' mention. *Maltreat* is a Scotticiſm ' which occurs once. What the devil ' had you to do with that old-faſhioned ' dangling word *wherewith?* I ſhould ' as ſoon take back *whereupon, where- ' unto*, and *wherewithal*. I think the ' only tolerable, decent gentleman of ' the family is *wherein;* and I ſhould ' not chuſe to be often ſeen in his com- ' pany. But I know your affection for ' *wherewith* proceeds from your par- ' tiality to Dean Swift, whom I can ' often laugh with, whoſe ſtyle I can ' even approve, but ſurely can never ' admire. It has no harmony, no elo- ' quence, no ornament; and not much ' correctneſs, whatever the Engliſh may ' imagine. Were not their literature ' ſtill in a ſomewhat barbarous ſtate, ' that author's place would not be ſo ' high among their claſſics. But what ' a fancy is this you have taken of ſay- ' ing always *an hand, an heart, an ' head?* Have you *an ear?* Do you ' not know that this (n) is added before ' vowels to prevent the cacophony, and ' ought never to take place before (h) ' when that letter is ſounded? It is ' never pronounced in theſe words: ' why ſhould it be wrote? Thus, I ' ſhould ſay, a *hiſtory*, and an *hiſtorian;* ' and ſo would you too, if you had ' any ſenſe. But you tell me, that ' Swift does otherwiſe. To be ſure ' there is no reply to that; and we muſt ' ſwallow your *bath* too upon the ſame ' authority. I will ſee you d——d ' ſooner. But I will endeavour to keep ' my temper.

" ' I do not like this ſentence in ' page 149. " This ſtep was taken in ' conſequence of the treaty Wolſey ' had concluded with the Emperor at ' Bruſſels, and which had hitherto been ' kept ſecret." *Si ſic omnia dixiſſes*, I ' ſhould never have been plagued with ' hearing your praiſes ſo often ſounded, ' and that fools preferred your ſtyle to ' mine. Certainly it had been better

* " The French tranſlator."

to

'to have ſaid, *which Wolſey, &c.* That 'relative ought very ſeldom to be 'omitted, and is here particularly re-'quiſite to preſerve a ſymmetry be-'tween the two members of the ſen-'tence. You omit the relative too 'often, which is a colloquial barba-'riſm, as Mr. Johnſon calls it.

" 'Your periods are ſometimes, 'though not often, too long. Suard 'will be embarraſſed with them, as 'the modiſh French ſtyle runs into the 'other extreme'. . . . . ." *P.* 50.

A CONTINUATION OF HUME'S HISTORY PROPOSED BY DR. ROBERTSON.

" IN conſequence of the interruption of Dr. Robertſon's plans, produced by the American revolution, he was led to think of ſome other ſubject which might, in the mean time, give employment to his ſtudious leiſure. A letter, dated July 1778, to his friend the Rev. Mr. Waddilove (now Dean of Rippon), contains ſome important information with reſpect to his deſigns at this period.

" 'The ſtate of our affairs in North 'America is not ſuch as to invite me 'to go on with my Hiſtory of the New 'World. I muſt wait for times of 'greater tranquillity, when I can write, 'and the public can read, with more 'impartiality and better information 'than at preſent. Every perſon with 'whom I converſed in London con-'firmed me in my reſolution of making 'a pauſe for a little, until it ſhall be 'known in what manner the ferment 'will ſubſide. But as it is neither my 'inclination nor intereſt to be altoge-'ther idle, many of my friends have 'ſuggeſted to me a new ſubject, the 'Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the 'Revolution to the Acceſſion of the 'Houſe of Hanover. It will be ſome 'ſatisfaction to me to enter on a do-'meſtic ſubject, after being engaged 'ſo long on foreign ones, where one 'half of my time and labour were em-'ployed in teaching myſelf to under-'ſtand manners, and laws, and forms, 'which I was to explain to others. 'You know better than any body how 'much pains I beſtowed in ſtudying 'the conſtitution, the manners, and 'the commerce of Spaniſh America. 'The review contained in the firſt vo-'lume of Charles V. was founded on 'reſearches ſtill more laborious. I ſhall 'not be involved in the ſame painful 'inquiries, if I undertake the preſent 'work. I poſſeſs already as much 'knowledge of the Britiſh government 'and laws as uſually is poſſeſſed by 'other perſons who have been well 'educated and have lived in good com-'pany. A minute inveſtigation of facts 'will be the chief object of my atten-'tion. With reſpect to theſe, I ſhall 'be much aided by the original papers 'publiſhed by Sir John Dalrymple and 'Macpherſon, and lately by Lord 'Hardwicke. The Memoirs of No-'ailles, concerning the French negotia-'tions in Spain, contain very curious 'information. I have got a very valu-'able collection of papers from the 'Duke of Montague, which belonged 'to the Duke of Shrewſbury; and I 'am promiſed the large collection of 'the Duke of Marlborough, which 'were formerly in the hands of Mr. 'Mallet. From theſe and other mate-'rials, I hope to write a hiſtory which 'may be both entertaining and inſtruc-'tive. I know that I ſhall get upon 'dangerous ground, and muſt relate 'events, concerning which our poli-'tical factions entertain very different 'ſentiments. But I am little alarmed 'with this. I flatter myſelf that I have 'temper enough to judge with impar-'tiality; and if, after examining with 'candour I do give offence, there is 'no man whoſe ſituation is more inde-'pendent.'

" Whatever the motives were which induced him to relinquiſh this project, it is certain that it did not long occupy his thoughts. From a letter of Mr. Gibbon, it would appear to have been abandoned before the end of the year 1779. The paſſage is intereſting, not only as it ſerves to aſcertain the fact, but as it ſuggeſts a valuable hint with reſpect to a different hiſtorical ſubject.

" 'I remember a kind of engage-'ment you had contracted to repeat 'your viſit to London every ſecond 'year, and I look forwards with plea-'ſure to next ſpring, when your bond 'will naturally become due. I ſhould 'almoſt hope that you would bring 'with you ſome fruits of your leiſure, 'had I not been informed that you 'had totally relinquiſhed your deſign 'of continuing Mr. Hume's Hiſtory of 'England. Notwithſtanding the juſt 'and deep ſenſe which I muſt entertain

'(if

'(if the intelligence be true) of our 'public loſs, I have ſcarcely courage 'enough to blame you. The want of 'materials and the danger of offence 'are two formidable obſtacles for an 'hiſtorian who wiſhes to inſtruct, and 'who is determined not to betray his 'readers. But if you leave the narrow 'limits of our iſland, there ſtill remain, 'without returning to the troubled 'ſcene of America, many ſubjects not 'unworthy of your genius. Will you 'give me leave, as a vague and indi-'geſted hint, to ſuggeſt the Hiſtory of 'the Proteſtants in France; the events 'are important in themſelves, and in-'timately connected with the great re-'volutions of Europe; ſome of the 'boldeſt or moſt amiable characters of 'modern times, the Admiral Coligny, 'Henry IV. &c. would be your pecu-'liar heroes; the materials are copious, 'and authentic, and acceſſible; and 'the objects appear to ſtand at that 'juſt diſtance which excites curioſity 'without inſpiring paſſion. Excuſe the 'freedom, and weigh the merits (if 'any) of this propoſal'." *P.* 83.

SKETCH OF DR. ROBERTSON'S CHARACTER—HIS DEATH.

"IN conſequence of the various connexions with ſociety, which aroſe from his profeſſional duties, and from the intereſt which he was led to take, both by his official ſituation, and the activity of his public ſpirit, in the literary or the patriotic undertakings of others, a conſiderable portion of Dr. Robertſon's leiſure was devoted to converſation and company. No man enjoyed theſe with more reliſh; and few have poſſeſſed the ſame talents to add to their attractions.

"A rich ſtock of miſcellaneous information, acquired from books and from an extenſive intercourſe with the world, together with a perfect acquaintance, at all times, with the topics of the day, and the ſoundeſt ſagacity and good ſenſe applied to the occurrences of common life, rendered him the moſt agreeable and inſtructive of companions. He ſeldom aimed at wit; but, with his intimate friends, he often indulged a ſportive and fanciful ſpecies of humour. He delighted in good natured, characteriſtical anecdotes of his acquaintance, and added powerfully to their effect by his own enjoyment in relating them. He was, in a remarkable degree, ſuſceptible of the ludicrous; but on no occaſion did he forget the dignity of his character, or the decorum of his profeſſion; nor did he even loſe ſight of that claſſical taſte which adorned his compoſitions. His turn of expreſſion was correct and pure; ſometimes, perhaps, inclining more than is expected to the careleſſneſs of a ſocial hour, to formal and artificial periods; but it was ſtamped with his own manner, no leſs than his premeditated ſtyle: it was always the language of a ſuperior and a cultivated mind, and it embelliſhed every ſubject on which he ſpoke. In the company of ſtrangers, he increaſed his exertions to amuſe and to inform; and the ſplendid variety of his converſation was commonly the chief circumſtance on which they dwelt in enumerating his talents: and yet, I muſt acknowledge, for my own part, that much as I always admired his powers when they were thus called forth, I enjoyed his ſociety leſs, than when I ſaw him in the circle of his intimates, or in the boſom of his family." *P.* 128.

"His health began apparently to decline in the end of the year 1791. Till then, it had been more uniformly good than might have been expected from his ſtudious habits; but, about this period, he ſuddenly diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of jaundice, which gradually undermined his conſtitution, and terminated at length in a lingering and fatal illneſs. He had the proſpect of death long before him; a proſpect deeply afflicting to his family and his friends; but of which, without any viſible abatement in his ſpirits, he happily availed himſelf, to adorn the doctrines which he had long taught, by an example of fortitude and of Chriſtian reſignation. In the concluding ſtage of his diſorder, he removed from Edinburgh to Grange Houſe, in the neighbourhood, where he had the advantage of a freer air, and a more quiet ſituation, and (what he valued more than moſt men), the pleaſure of rural objects, and of a beautiful landſcape. While he was able to walk abroad, he commonly paſſed a part of the day in a ſmall garden, enjoying the ſimple gratifications it afforded with all his wonted reliſh. Some who now hear me will long remember, among the trivial yet intereſting incidents which marked

marked theſe laſt weeks of his memorable life, his daily viſits to the fruit-trees (which were then in bloſſom), and the ſmile with which he, more than once, contraſted the intereſt he took in their progreſs, with the event which was to happen before their maturity. At his particular deſire, I ſaw him (for the laſt time) on the 4th of June 1793, when his weakneſs confined him to his couch, and his articulation was already beginning to fail: and it is in obedience to a requeſt with which he then honoured me, that I have ventured, without conſulting my own powers, to offer this tribute to his memory. He died on the 11th of the ſame month, in the 71ſt year of his age." *P.* 131.

"In point of ſtature Dr. Robertſon was rather above the middle ſize; and his form, though it did not convey the idea of much activity, announced vigour of body and a healthful conſtitution. His features were regular and manly; and his eye ſpoke at once good ſenſe and good humour. He appeared to greateſt advantage in his complete clerical dreſs; and was more remarkable for gravity and dignity in diſcharging the functions of his public ſtations, than for eaſe and grace in private ſociety. His portrait by Reynolds, painted about twenty years ago, is an admirable likeneſs; and fortunately (for the colours are already much faded), all its ſpirit is preſerved in an excellent metzotinto. At the requeſt of his colleagues in the univerſity, who were anxious to have ſome memorial of him placed in the public library, he ſat again, a few months before his death, to Mr. Raeburn; at a time when his altered and ſickly aſpect rendered the taſk of the artiſt peculiarly difficult. The picture, however, is not only worthy, in every reſpect, of Mr. Raeburn's high and deſerved reputation, but, to thoſe who were accuſtomed to ſee Dr. Robertſon at this intereſting period, derives an additional value from an air of langour and feebleneſs, which ſtrongly marked his appearance during his long decline." *P.* 135.

LETTERS FROM MR. HUME.

Mr. Hume to Dr. Robertſon.

"My dear Sir, *25th January* 1759.

"WHAT I wrote you with regard to Mary's concurrence in the conſpiracy againſt Queen Elizabeth, was from the printed hiſtories of papers; and nothing ever appeared to me more evident. Your chief objection, I ſee, is derived from one circumſtance, that neither the ſecretaries nor conſpirators were confronted with Mary: but you muſt conſider that the law did not then require this confrontation, and it was in no caſe the practice. The crown could not well grant it in one caſe, without granting it in all, becauſe the refuſing of it would then have been a ſtrong preſumption of innocence in the priſoner. Yet as Mary's was an extraordinary caſe, Elizabeth was willing to have granted it. I find in Forbes's MS. papers, ſent me by Lord Royſton, a letter of hers to Burleigh and Walſingham, wherein ſhe tells them, that, if they thought proper, they might carry down the two ſecretaries to Fotheringay, in order to confront them with her. But they reply, that they think it needleſs.

"But I am now ſorry to tell you, that by Murden's State Papers, which are printed, the matter is put beyond all queſtion. I got theſe papers during the holidays by Dr. Birch's means; and as ſoon as I had read them, I ran to Millar, and deſired him very earneſtly to ſtop the publication of your hiſtory till I ſhould write to you, and give you an opportunity of correcting a miſtake of ſo great moment; but he abſolutely refuſed compliance. He ſaid that your book was now finiſhed; that the copies would be ſhipped for Scotland in two days; that the whole narration of Mary's trial muſt be wrote over again; that this would require time, and it was uncertain whether the new narrative could be brought within the ſame compaſs with the old; that this change, he ſaid, would require the cancelling a great many ſheets; that there were ſcattered paſſages through the volumes founded on your theory, and theſe muſt alſo be all cancelled; and that this change required the new printing of a great part of the edition. For theſe reaſons, which do not want force, he refuſed, after deliberation, to ſtop his publication, and I was obliged to acquieſce. Your beſt apology at preſent is, that you could not poſſibly ſee the grounds of Mary's guilt, and every equitable perſon will excuſe you.

"I am ſorry, on many accounts, that

that you did not ſee this collection of Murden's. Among other curioſities, there are ſeveral inſtructions to H. Killigrew. dated 10th September 1572. He was then ſent into Scotland. It there appears, that the regents, Murray and Lennox, had deſired Mary to be put into their hands, in order to try her and put her to death. Elizabeth there offers to Regent Mar to deliver her up, provided good ſecurity were given, 'that ſhe ſhould receive 'that ſhe hath deſerved there by order 'of juſtice, whereby no further peril 'ſhould enſue by her eſcaping, or by 'ſetting her up again.' It is probable Mar refuſed compliance, for no ſteps were taken towards it." *P.* 156.

London, 8th Feb. 1759.

"* * * AS to the *Age of Leo the Tenth*, it was Warton himſelf who intended to write it; but he has not wrote it, and probably never will. If I underſtand your hint, I ſhould conjecture that you had ſome thoughts of taking up the ſubject. But how can you acquire knowledge of the great works of ſculpture, architecture, and painting, by which that age was chiefly diſtinguiſhed? Are you verſed in all the anecdotes of the Italian literature? Theſe queſtions I heard propoſed in a company of literati, when I inquired concerning this deſign of Warton. They applied their remarks to that gentleman, who yet, they ſay, has travelled. I wiſh they do not all of them fall more fully on you. However, you muſt not be idle. May I venture to ſuggeſt to you the Ancient Hiſtory, particularly that of Greece? I think Rollin's ſucceſs might encourage you, nor need you be in the leaſt intimidated by his merit. That author has no other merit but a certain facility and ſweetneſs of narration, but has loaded his work with fifty puerilities.

"Our friend Wedderburn is advancing with great ſtrides in his profeſſion.

* * * * *

"I deſire my compliments to Lord Elibank. I hope his Lordſhip has forgot his vow of anſwering us, and of waſhing Queen Mary white. I am afraid that is impoſſible; but his Lordſhip is very well qualified to gild her.

I am, &c."

Paris, 1ſt December 1763.

"Dear Robertſon,

"AMONG other agreeable circumſtances which attend me at Paris, I muſt mention that of having a lady for a tranſlator, a woman of merit, the widow of an advocate. She was before very poor, and known but to few; but this work has got her reputation, and procured her a penſion from the court, which ſets her at her eaſe. She tells me that ſhe has got a habit of induſtry; and would continue, if I could point out to her any other Engliſh book ſhe could undertake, without running the riſk of being anticipated by any other tranſlator. Your Hiſtory of Scotland is tranſlated, and is in the preſs: but I recommended to her your Hiſtory of Charles V. and promiſed to write to you, in order to know when it would be printed, and to deſire you to ſend over the ſheets from London as they came from the preſs: I ſhould put them into her hands, and ſhe would by that means have the ſtart of every other tranſlator. My two volumes laſt publiſhed are at preſent in the preſs. She has a very eaſy natural ſtyle: ſometimes ſhe miſtakes the ſenſe; but I now correct her manuſcript; and ſhould be happy to render you the ſame ſervice, if my leiſure permit me, as I hope it will. Do you aſk me about my courſe of life? I can only ſay, that I eat nothing but ambroſia, drink nothing but nectar, breathe nothing but incenſe, and tread on nothing but flowers. Every man I meet, and ſtill more every lady, would think they were wanting in the moſt indiſpenſable duty, if they did not make to me a long and elaborate harangue in my praiſe. What happened laſt week, when I had the honour of being preſented to the D——n's children at Verſailles, is one of the moſt curious ſcenes I have yet paſſed through. The Duc de B. the eldeſt, a boy of ten years old, ſtepped forth, and told me how many friends and admirers I had in this country, and that he reckoned himſelf in the number, from the pleaſure he had received from the reading of many paſſages in my works. When he had finiſhed, his brother, the Count de P. who is two years younger, began his diſcourſe, and informed me, that I had been long and impatiently expected in France; and that he himſelf expected ſoon to have great ſatisfaction from the reading of my fine hiſtory. But what is more curious; when I was carried thence to the

the Count d'A. who is but four years of age, I heard him mumble ſomething, which, though he had forgot it in the way, I conjectured, from ſome ſcattered words, to have been alſo a panegyric dictated to him. Nothing could more ſurpriſe my friends, the Pariſian philoſophers, than this incident. * * * * * * * * * It is conjectured that this honour was payed me by expreſs order from the D. who, indeed, is not on any occaſion ſparing in my praiſe.

"All this attention and panegyric was at firſt oppreſſive to me; but now it fits more eaſy. I have recovered, in ſome meaſure, the uſe of the language, and am falling into friendſhips which are very agreeable; much more ſo than filly, diſtant admiration. They now begin to banter me, and tell droll ſtories of me, which they have either obſerved themſelves, or have heard from others; ſo that you ſee I am beginning to be at home. It is probable that this place will be long my home. I feel little inclination to the factious barbarians of London; and have ever deſired to remain in the place where I am planted. How much more ſo, when it is the beſt place in the world? I could here live in great abundance on the half of my income; for there is no place where money is ſo little requiſite to a man who is diſtinguiſhed either by his birth or by perſonal qualities. I could run out, you ſee, in a panegyric on the people; but you would ſuſpect that this was a mutual convention between us. However, I cannot forbear obſerving, on what a different footing learning and the learned are here, from what they are among the factious barbarians above mentioned.

"I have here met with a prodigious hiſtorical curioſity, the Memoirs of King James II. in fourteen volumes, all wrote with his own hand, and kept in the Scot's College. I have looked into it, and have made great diſcoveries. It will be all communicated to me; and I have had an offer of acceſs to the ſecretary of ſtate's office, if I want to know the diſpatches of any French miniſter that reſided in London. But theſe matters are much out of my head. I beg of you to viſit Lord Mariſchal, who will be pleaſed with your company. I have little paper remaining, and leſs time; and therefore conclude abruptly, by aſſuring you that I am, dear Doctor,

Yours ſincerely,

P. 169. DAVID HUME."

CXII. *Strutt's Sports and Paſtimes of the People of England.* (Concluded from p. 596.)

THE SOLITARY GAME

"IS ſo denominated, becauſe it is played by one perſon only. The board for this paſtime is of a circular form, and perforated with holes, at half an inch diſtance from each other, to the amount of fifty or ſixty. A certain number of pegs are then fitted to theſe holes, but not enough to fill them all; and the manner of playing the game is, to paſs one of the pegs over another into a hole that is unoccupied, taking the peg ſo paſſed from the board, and to continue doing ſo till all the pegs but one are taken away; which is an operation much more difficult to perform than any one could readily imagine who had not made the attempt." *P.* 238.

ORIGIN OF PLAYING CARDS.

"THE general opinion reſpecting the origin of playing cards is, that they were firſt made for the amuſement of Charles VI. of France, at the time he was afflicted with a mental derangement *. The proof of this ſuppoſition depends upon an article in the treaſury regiſters belonging to that monarch, which ſtates that a payment was made to Jacquemin Gringonneur, painter, for three packs of cards gilded and painted with divers colours and different devices, to be carried to the King for his diverſion. If it be granted, and I ſee no reaſon why it ſhould not, that this entry alludes to playing cards, the conſequences that have been deduced from it do not neceſſarily follow; I mean that theſe cards were the firſt that were made, or that Gringonneur was the inventor of them; it by no means precludes the probability of

* "This event took place A. D. 1392, and the affliction continued for ſeveral years."

cards having been previouſly uſed in France, but ſimply ſtates that thoſe made by him were gilt and diverſified with devices in variegated colours, the better to amuſe the unfortunate monarch.

"Some, allowing that Gringonneur was the firſt maker of playing cards, place the invention in the reign of Charles V. upon the authority of Jean de Saintre, who was page to that monarch; he mentions card playing in his chronicle; for, he was an author; and the words he uſes would be ſufficient evidence for the exiſtence of cards before the aſcenſion of Charles VI. to the throne of France, if it could be proved that the page did not ſurvive his maſter; but, on the other hand, if he did, they may equally be applied to the amuſements of the ſucceeding reign.

"A prohibitory edict againſt the uſage of cards was made in Spain conſiderably anterior to any that have been produced in France; which has inclined ſeveral modern writers upon this ſubject to refer the invention of cards from France to Spain; and the names of ſome of the cards, as well as of many of the moſt ancient games, being evidently derived from the Spaniſh language, are juſtly conſidered as ſtrong corroborating arguments in favour of ſuch an opinion.

"A very intelligent writer* upon the origin of engraving aſſerts, that playing cards were invented in Germany, where they were uſed towards the latter end of the fourteenth century: but his reaſons are by no means concluſive.

"An author of our own country produces a paſſage cited from a wardrobe computus made in the ſixth year of Edward I. which mentions a game entitled, '*the four kings*;' and hence, with ſome degree of probability, he conjectures that the uſe of playing cards was then known in England, which is a much earlier period than any that has been aſſigned by the foreign authors. It is the opinion of ſeveral learned writers well acquainted with Aſiatic hiſtory, that cards were uſed in the eaſtern parts of the world long before they found their way into Europe†. If this poſition be granted, when we recollect that Edward I. before his acceſſion to the throne, reſided nearly five years in Syria, it will be natural enough to ſuppoſe that he might have learned the game of 'the 'four kings' in that country, and introduced it at court upon his return to England. An objection, which indeed at firſt ſight ſeems to be a very powerful one, has been raiſed in oppoſition to this conjecture: it is founded upon the total ſilence of every kind of authority reſpecting the ſubject of card playing, from the time that the above-mentioned entry was made to an early period in the reign of Edward IV. including an interval of one hundred and eighty-ſix years. An omiſſion ſo general it is thought would not have taken place, if the words contained in that record alluded to the uſage of playing cards. A game introduced by a monarch could not fail of becoming faſhionable; and, if it continued to be practiſed in after times, muſt in all probability have been mentioned occaſionally in conjunction with the other paſtimes then prevalent. But this ſilence is by no means a poſitive proof that the game of the *four kings* was not played with cards, nor that cards did not continue to be uſed during the whole of the above-mentioned interval in the higher circles, though not perhaps with ſuch abuſes as were afterwards practiſed, and which excited the reprehenſion of the moral and religious writers. Beſides, at the time that cards were firſt introduced, they were drawn and painted by the hand without the aſſiſtance of a ſtamp or plate; it follows of courſe that much time was required to complete a ſet or pack of cards; the price they bore no doubt was adequate to the labour beſtowed upon them, which neceſſarily muſt have enhanced their value beyond the purchaſe of the under claſſes of the people; and for this reaſon it is, I preſume, that card playing, though it

* "Baron Heineken; who ſays that they were known there as early as the year 1376. Idée generale d'une collection des eſtampes. pp. 237. 249."

† "Warton ſays, it ſeems probable that the Arabians were the inventors of cards, which they communicated to the Conſtantinopolitan Greeks. Hiſt. Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 316. Indeed it is very likely they were brought into the weſtern parts of Europe during the cruſades."

might

might have been known in England, was not much practiſed until ſuch time as inferior ſets of cards, proportionably cheap, were produced for the uſe of the comommonalty, which ſeems to have been the caſe when Edward the Fourth aſcended the throne; for early in his reign an act was eſtabliſhed prohibiting the importation of playing cards, and ſoon after that period card playing became a very general paſtime." *P.* 240.

THE LORD OF MISRULE—THE KING OF CHRISTMAS—THE FESTIVAL OF FOOLS—THE BOY BISHOP.

" IT is ſaid of the Engliſh, that formerly they were remarkable for the manner in which they celebrated the feſtival of Chriſtmas; at which ſeaſon they admitted variety of ſports and paſtimes not known, or little practiſed in other countries. The *mock prince, or lord of miſrule*, whoſe reign extended through the greater part of the holydays, is particularly remarked by foreign writers, who conſider him as a perſonage rarely to be met with out of England; and, two or three centuries back, perhaps, this obſervation might be conſiſtent with the truth; but I truſt we ſhall upon due examination be ready to conclude, that anciently this frolicſome monarch was we known upon the continent, where he probably received his firſt honours. In this kingdom his powers and his dignities ſuffered no diminution, but on the contrary were eſtabliſhed by royal authority, and continued after they had ceaſed to exiſt elſewhere. But even with us his government has been extinct for many years, and his name and his officers are nearly forgotten. No doubt, in many inſtances, the privileges allowed to this merry deſpot were abuſed, and not unfrequently productive of immorality; the inſtitution itſelf, even if we view it in its moſt favourable light, is puerile and ridiculous, adapted to the ages of ignorance, when more rational amuſements were not known, or at leaſt not faſhionable.

" 'At the feaſt of Chriſtmas,' ſays Stowe, 'in the king's court wherever 'he chanced to reſide, there was ap-'pointed a *lord of miſrule*, or *maſter of* '*merry diſports*; the ſame merry fellow 'made his appearance at the houſe of 'every nobleman and perſon of diſtinc-'tion, and among the reſt the lord 'mayor of London and the ſheriffs had 'ſeverally of them their *lord of miſrule*, 'ever contending, without quarrel or 'offence, who ſhould make the rareſt 'paſtimes to delight the beholders: 'this pageant potentate began his rule 'at All-hallow eve, and continued the 'ſame till the morrow after the Feaſt 'of the Purification; in which ſpace 'there were fine and ſubtle diſguiſings, 'maſks, and mummeries'." *P.* 252.

" This maſter of merry diſports was not confined to the court, nor to the houſes of the opulent, he was alſo elected in various pariſhes, where, indeed, his reign ſeems to have been of ſhorter date. A writer, who lived at the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, places this whimſical perſonage, with his followers, in a very degrading point of view. I ſhall give the paſſage in the author's own words, and leave the reader to comment upon them. 'Firſt 'of all, the wilde heades of the pariſh, 'flocking togither, chuſe them a graund 'captaine of miſchife, whom they in-'noble with the title of *lord of miſrule*; 'and him they crowne with great 'ſolemnity, and adopt for their king. 'This *king annoynted* chooſeth forth 'twentie, fourty, threeſcore, or an 'hundred luſtie guttes, like to himſelf, 'to waite upon his lordly majeſty, and 'to gaurde his noble perſon. Then 'every one of theſe men he inveſteth 'with his liveries of greene, yellow, 'or ſome other light wanton colour, 'and, as though they were not gawdy 'ynough, they bedecke themſelves 'with ſcarffes, ribbons, and laces, 'hanged all over with gold ringes, 'pretious ſtones, and other jewels. 'This done, they tie aboute either 'legge twentie or fourtie belles, with 'riche handkerchiefes in their handes, 'and ſometimes laide acroſſe over their 'ſhoulders and neckes, borrowed, for 'the moſt part, of their pretie mopſies 'and loving Beſſies. Thus all thinges 'ſet in order, then have they their '*hobby horſes*, their *dragons*, and other 'antiques, together with their baudie 'pipers, and thundring drummers, to 'ſtrike up the devil's daunce with all. 'Then march this heathen company 'towards the church, their pypers 'pyping, their drummers thundring, 'their ſtumpes dauncing, their belles 'jyngling, their handkerchiefes flutter-'ing aboute their heades like madde 'men,

'men, their hobbie horſes and other 'monſters ſkirmiſhing amongſt the 'throng: and in this ſorte they go to 'the church, though the miniſter be 'at prayer or preaching, dauncing and 'ſinging like devils incarnate, with 'ſuch a confuſed noiſe that no man can 'heare his own voyce. Then the fooliſh 'people they looke, they ſtare, they 'laugh, they fleere, and mount upon 'the formes and pewes to ſee theſe 'goodly pageants ſolemnized. Then 'after this, aboute the church they 'goe againe and againe, and ſo fourthe 'into the churche yard, where they 'have commonly their ſommer-halls, 'their bowers, arbours, and banquet-'ting-houſes, ſet up, wherein they 'feaſt, banquet, and daunce all that 'day, and *paradventure* all that night 'too; and thus theſe terreſtrial furies 'ſpend the ſabbath day. Then, for 'the further innobling of this honour-'able *lardane*, lord I ſhould ſay, they 'have certaine papers wherein is paint-'ed ſome babelerie * or other of ima-'gerie worke, and theſe they call my 'Lord of Miſrule's badges of cogni-'zances. Theſe they give to every 'one that will give them money to 'maintain them in this their heatheniſh 'devilrie;—and who will not ſhow 'himſelf buxome to them and give 'them money, they ſhall be mocked 'and flouted ſhamefully; yea, and 'many times carried upon a cowlſtaffe, 'and dived over heade and eares in 'water, or otherwiſe moſt horribly 'abuſed. And ſo beſſotted are ſome, 'that they not only give them money, 'but weare their badges or cognizances 'in their hats or cappes openly. Ano-'ther ſorte of fantaſticall fooles bring 'to theſe *belhounds*, the Lord of Miſ-'rule and his complices, ſome bread, 'ſome good ale, ſome new cheeſe, ſome 'old cheeſe, ſome cuſtardes, ſome 'cracknels, ſome cakes, ſome flaunes, 'ſome tartes, ſome creame, ſome, meat 'ſome one thing, and ſome another.'

"The ſociety belonging to Lincoln's Inn had anciently an officer choſen at this ſeaſon, who was honoured with the title of *King of Chriſtmas-Day*, becauſe he preſided in the hall upon that day. This temporary potentate had a marſhal and a ſteward to attend upon him. The marſhal, in the abſence of the monarch, was permitted to aſſume his ſtate, and upon New Year's-day he ſat as king in the hall when the *maſter of the revels*, during the time of dining, ſupplied the marſhal's place. Upon Childermas-day they had another officer, denominated the *King of the Cockneys*, who alſo preſided on the day of his appointment, and had his inferior officers to wait upon him †." *P.* 254.

"Selden aſſerts, and in my opinion with great juſtice, that all theſe whimſical tranſpoſitions of dignity are derived from the ancient *Saturnalia*, or *Feaſts of Saturn*, when the maſters waited upon their ſervants, who were honoured with mock titles, and permitted to aſſume the ſtate and deportment of their lords. Theſe fooleries were exceedingly popular, and continued to be practiſed long after the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, in defiance of the threatenings and the remonſtrances of the clergy, who, finding it impoſſible to divert the ſtream of vulgar prejudice, permitted them to be exerciſed, but changed the primitive object of devotion; ſo that the ſame unhallowed orgies, which had diſgraced the worſhip of a heathen deity, were dedicated, as it was called, to the ſervice of the true God, and ſanctioned by the appellation of a Chriſtian inſtitution. From this polluted ſtock branched out variety of unſeemly and immoral ſports; but none of them more daringly impious, and outrageous to common ſenſe, than the *feſtival of fools*, in which the moſt ſacred rites and ceremonies of the church were turned into ridicule, and the eccleſiaſtics themſelves participated in the abominable profanations. The following outlines of this abſurd diverſion will no doubt be thought ſufficient.

"In each of the cathedral churches there was a *biſhop*, or an *archbiſhop of fools*, elected; and in the churches immediately dependent upon the papal ſee a *pope of fools*. Theſe mock pontiffs had uſually a proper ſuit of eccleſiaſtics who attended upon them, and aſſiſted at the divine ſervice, moſt of them attired in ridiculous dreſſes, reſembling pantomimical players and buffoons; they were accompanied by large crowds of the laity, ſome being diſguiſed with maſks of a monſtrous faſhion, and others having their faces ſmutted; in one inſtance to frighten the beholders,

* "Childiſh, trifling." † "Dugdale's Origines Juridiciales, fol. 247."

and

and in the other to excite their laughter: and ſome, again, aſſuming the habits of females, practiſed all the wanton airs of the looſeſt and moſt abandoned of the ſex. During the divine ſervice this motley crowd were not contented with ſinging of indecent ſongs in the choir, but ſome of them eat, and drank, and played at dice, upon the altar, by the ſide of the prieſt who celebrated the maſs. After the ſervice they put filth into the cenſers, and ran about the church, leaping, dancing, laughing, ſinging, breaking obſcene jeſts, and expoſing themſelves in the moſt unſeemly attitudes with ſhameleſs impudence. Another part of theſe ridiculous ceremonies was, to ſhave the *precentor of fools* upon a ſtage erected before the church, in the preſence of the populace; and, during the operation, he amuſed them with lewd and vulgar diſcourſes, accompanied by actions equally reprehenſible. The *biſhop*, or the *pope of fools*, performed divine ſervice habited in the pontifical garments, and gave his benediction to the people before they quitted the church. He was afterwards ſeated in an open carriage, and drawn about to the different parts of the town, attended by a large train of eccleſiaſtics and laymen promiſcuouſly mingled together; and many of the moſt profligate of the latter aſſumed clerical habits, in order to give their impious fooleries the greater effect; they had alſo with them carts filled with ordure, which they threw occaſionally upon the populace aſſembled to ſee the proceſſion. Theſe ſpectacles were always exhibited at Chriſtmas-time, or near to it, but not confined to one particular day. When the ceremony took place upon St. Stephen's-day, they ſang, as part of the maſs, a burleſque compoſition, called *The Proſe of the Aſs*, or *The Fool's Proſe*. It was performed by a double choir, and at intervals, in place of a burden, they imitated the braying of an aſs. Upon the feſtival of St. John the Evangeliſt they had another arrangement of ludicrous ſentences, denominated *The Proſe of the Ox*, equally reprehenſible.

" Groteſque ceremonies, ſomething ſimilar to thoſe above mentioned, certainly took place in England; but probably they were not carried to that extent of impiety, nor ſo groſsly offenſive to decency. We had a *king of the fools*, but his office was ſuppreſſed at an early period, and not, that I remember, revived in the ſucceeding times. The election and the inveſtment of the *boy-biſhop* was certainly derived from the *feſtival of fools*. In all the collegiate churches, at the feaſt of St. Nicholas, or of the Holy Innocents, and frequently at both, it was cuſtomary for one of the children of the choir, completely apparelled in the epiſcopal veſtments, with a mitre and croſier, to bear the title and ſtate of a biſhop. He exacted a ceremonial obedience from his fellows, who, being dreſſed like prieſts, took poſſeſſion of the church, and performed all the ceremonies and offices which might have been celebrated by a biſhop and his prebendaries. Colet, dean of St. Paul's, who, though he was 'a wiſe and good man,' countenanced this idle farce; and, in the ſtatutes for his ſchool at St. Paul's, expreſsly orders that the ſcholars 'ſhall, 'every Childermas, *that is, Innocents-* 'day, come to Paule's churche, and 'hear the *childe byſhop*'s ſermon, and 'after be at hygh maſſe, and each of 'them offer a penny to the childe by- 'ſhop; and with them the maiſters and 'ſurveyors of the ſchole *.' After having performed the divine ſervice, the biſhop and his aſſociates went about to different parts of the town, and viſited the religious houſes, collecting money. Theſe ceremonies and proceſſions were formally abrogated by proclamation from the king and council, in the thirty-third year of Henry the Eighth; the concluding clauſe of the ordinance runs thus: 'Whereas 'heretofore dyvers and many ſuperſti- 'tious and chyldyſh obſervances have 'been uſed, and yet to this day are 'obſerved and kept in many and ſundry 'places of this realm upon St. Nicho- 'las, St. Catherines, St. Clements, and 'Holy Innocents, and ſuch like holy- 'daies; children be ſtrangelie decked

* " Knight's Life of Colet, p. 362; to which Warton adds, 'I take this op- 'portunity of intimating, that the cuſtom at Eton of going *ad montem*, originated 'from the ancient and popular practice of theſe theatrical proceſſions in colle- 'giate bodies.' Hiſt. Poet. ut ſupra."

'and

'and apparayled to counterfeit prieſts, 'biſhops, and women, and ſo ledde 'with ſongs and dances from houſe to 'houſe, bleſſing the people, and ga- 'thering of money; and boyes do ſinge 'maſſe, and preache in the pulpits, 'with ſuch other unſittinge and incon- 'venient uſages, which tend rather to 'deryſyon than enie true glorie to God, 'or honour of his ſayntes.' This idle pageantry was revived by his daughter Mary; and in the ſecond year of her reign an edict was iſſued from the biſhop of London to all the clergy of his dioceſe, to have a boy-biſhop in proceſſion. The year following, 'the 'child biſhop, of Paules church, with 'his company,' were admitted into the queen's privy chamber, where he ſang before her on Saint Nicholas-day and upon Holy Innocents-day. Again the next year, ſays Strype, 'On Saint 'Nicholas-even, *Saint Nicholas*, that is, 'a boy habited like a biſhop *in pontifi- 'calibus*, went abroad in moſt parts of 'London, ſinging after the old faſhion; 'and was received with many ignorant 'but well-diſpoſed people into their 'houſes, and had as much good cheer 'as ever was wont to be had before †.' After the death of Mary this ſilly mummery was totally diſcontinued."—— *P.* 258.

CXIII. *Olivier's Travels in the Ottoman Empire.* (Concluded from p. 585.)

SCIO—CHURCHES—SCHOOL OF HOMER.

"MUSSULMAN toleration, which leaves the Sciots the liberty of having a police, tribunals, and particular judges, is ſtill more indulgent in regard to their religion. The Greeks, infinitely more numerous, more rich, and more powerful than the Latins, poſſeſs about ſeven hundred churches in the iſland, a calculation which will, no doubt, appear exaggerated, but the exactneſs of which was warranted to me by the beſt informed perſons of Scio. Perſecuted by their adverſaries, the weak Latins have no more than four at the preſent day, a ſingle one in the town, and three in the country. The number of prieſts, as may well be imagined, is proportionate to this aſtoniſhing number of churches. It is extremely curious to ſee them diſplay, in the midſt of the fanatic Muſſulmans, all the pomp of the Greek and Roman religious ceremonies. Their proceſſions and interments attract an innumerable train; the prieſts in their ſurplices, the papas in their ſtoles, traverſe the ſtreets of the town, preceded by a long croſs, followed by a great number of faithful with a wax taper in their hand. The ſtern Muſſulman ſees them paſs without murmuring, provided they pay homage to the moſques, provided they interrupt their ſinging at the ſight of that venerable place, that they detach the croſs from its ſtaff, and hold it humbly lowered.

The privilege of having bells to their churches is granted only to the inhabitants of the maſtic villages: they ſerve for calling them to prayers, to maſs, to work, to the gathering of the maſtic, to the parochial aſſemblies; they are likewiſe intended for giving the alarm in caſe of attack or fire.

"Independently of the Latin churches of which I have ſpoken, there are three convents of friars under the protection of France. The capuchins conſider themſelves as proprietors of the conſular houſe, which makes a part of their convent. The monks had decamped a long time before our arrival at Scio, and the chapel was abandoned ſince the conſul no longer paid for the ſervice that was performed there before.

"The hiſtory of Scio is loſt in the obſcurity of time, and is confounded with the errors of fable. At firſt under the rod of kings, next under republican agitation, then under the odious tyranny of factions, alternately independent and ſubjected, never perhaps

† "We may obſerve that moſt of the churches in which theſe mock ceremonies were performed, had dreſſes and ornaments proper for the occaſion, and ſuited to the ſize of the wearers, but in every other reſpect reſembling thoſe appropriated to the real dignitaries of the church; hence it is we frequently meet with entries of diminutive habits and ornaments in the church inventories, as *una mitra parva cum petris pro epiſcopo puerorum*, that is, a *ſmall mitre*, with jewels for the *biſhop* of the *boys*. Invent. York Cathedral. See alſo Dugdale's Hiſt. of St. Paul's, p. 205."

free

free and happy, the inhabitants of Scio have paſſed ſucceſſively under the domination of the Perſians, under that of the Greeks, and under that of the Romans. The Venetians attempted to eſtabliſh themſelves there when the Europeans in a delirium were crowding towards the oriental regions, in order to drive the infidel Muſſulmans from the Holy Land. The Greek emperors ſoon after ſold the iſland to ſome Genoeſe nobles, and that republic had rendered it the emporium of an extenſive commerce, when, in 1566, Soliman I. made himſelf maſter of it.

"Favoured by the Catholics of the country, the Venetians took poſſeſſion of Scio, in 1693, towards the end of the reign of Achmet II.; they conducted themſelves there in a very indecorous and very impolitic manner, by perſecuting the Greeks enemies of the Latins. The year after Mezomorto, a Turkiſh admiral, had only to preſent himſelf to beat them and expel them from the iſland. Since that epoch, Scio has not ceaſed to be ſubject to the empire of the creſcent.

"The moſt ancient and the moſt valuable monument on which this iſland prides itſelf, is that it is called the School of Homer. Four miles to the north of the town, at the foot of Mount Epos, is found near the ſea-ſhore, a calcareous rock, whoſe ſummit is cut into the ſhape of a platform; it is about twenty feet in diameter: a ſeat crowns its circumference: in the centre is a ſquare block, which riſes from the rock to a foot and a half in height, and which bears on each of its ſides the figure of a mutilated ſphynx, ſcarcely cognizable. Such is this monument which the inhabitants conſider as the place where Homer inſtructed and delighted his countrymen; for they are perſuaded that Scio gave birth to that great man.

"This opinion, warmly ſupported by ſome, ſtrongly conteſted by others, ſtill leaves the mind in ſuſpenſe. The moſt intelligent inhabitants of Scio inſtance among others an arch of gray marble, which was ſtill ſhown not long ſince, at Erythes, as an ancient monument belonging to the houſe in which Homer was born. They alſo quote the excellent wine produced by the riſing grounds of Erythes, bordering on the Arviſian fields; a wine known at Scio from times the moſt remote, under the name of Homer's *nectar*. By their account, it is this nectar that was given him when he was weaned; it is the delicious wine of theſe riſing grounds, that was ſpilt on the altars which were erected to him when his verſes had rendered him immortal." *Vol.* ii. *p.* 84.

DESCRIPTION OF MILO.

"THE coaſt on which we landed, preſented to us a tolerably ſolid bank of yelloviſh earth, ſtrewn with three ſpecies of foſſil echini, with petrified terebratulæ, and with ſeveral fragments of ſhells. In the environs, were pumice-ſtones and various lava. Grottoes, dug by the hand of man, are rather common on this coaſt, and ſeem to indicate that there were formerly habitations on this part of the iſland: they have been formed, as at Cimolis, in a ſtratum of pumice-ſtone eaſy enough to be worked.

"It took us upwards of three hours to reach the town by a bad road. Every thing that offered itſelf to us was volcanic. We ſaw every where porphyries more or leſs decompoſed, white earths, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe of Cimolis; gray lava, ponderous, and in large maſſes: we perceived in ſome places indications of ſmall-grained iron-ore, and veins of ponderous ſpar, mixed with a red earth: we croſſed hills uncultivated, dry, and arid: we went into a gorge of rather rapid deſcent, where enormous rocks of lava, ſuſpended over our heads, threatened every moment to bury us by their fall. We at length diſcovered a tolerably handſome plain, in the midſt of which was a town, which, a ſhort time ſince, was not inferior to any other of the Archipelago; but which, at this day, ſcarcely preſents any thing but ruins.

"On entering it, we were ſtruck at ſeeing on all ſides houſes fallen in, men bloated, conſumptive faces, ambulating corpſes. Every where the image of deſtruction and of death offered itſelf to our eyes. Scarcely do forty families, the greater part foreigners, drag on their unfortunate exiſtence in a town which ſtill reckoned five thouſand inhabitants within its walls at the beginning of the laſt century.

"Tournefort had diſcovered, in 1700, that the air of the Milo was unwholeſome, and that the inhabitants were very ſubject to dangerous diſorders; but

but this infalubrity of the air muſt have increaſed very much ſince that epoch, either through the effect of the ſtagnant waters which lie between the town and the head of the harbour, or through the pernicious exhalations which are inceſſantly riſing to the eaſt and to the ſouth, from a ſoil acted on by ſubterraneous fires. To theſe cauſes of infection and mortality, may be added the bad quality of the well and ciſtern waters of which the unfortunate inhabitants of this iſland are obliged to make uſe.

"Although this was not the moſt unwholeſome ſeaſon of the year, we had, nevertheleſs, been apprized of the danger that there was in ſleeping two or three nights in the town; which determined us to go that very evening to the monaſtery of St. Marino, Ayia Marino, ſituated at a little diſtance from Mount St. Elias.

"We proceeded for half an hour in the part of the plain which extends from the town to the ſea; we paſſed along ſome marſhes, and a ſaltern of little extent; we followed the ſteep ſhores of the ſouth coaſt of the harbour; we afterwards croſſed a ſmall arid plain, formerly cultivated, ſtrewn with fragments of pumice-ſtone; then gaining higher ground, and ſtill following a weſterly direction, we ſaw banks of white, volcanic earth, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe of Cimolis, which were ſucceeded by conſiderable ſhelves of granites charged with vitreous points. The whole ground is covered with little grains of glaſs, which detach themſelves from theſe granites with tolerable facility.

"The traces of the road were not very eaſily diſtinguiſhed, ſo rugged and uniform was the ground: our mules had ſome difficulty to keep their feet on it. It was curious to ſee theſe animals get over the worſt paſſes without ever ſtumbling. Sometimes almoſt erect on their crupper, they ſpring forward on lofty rocks, almoſt perpendicular, and ſometimes they deſcend ſteep declivities, if not with the ſame agility, at leaſt with the ſame preciſion. The only danger that you have to run, in making uſe of theſe animals, proceeds leſs from them than from their conductors. The latter, accuſtomed to prick them with a ſpur with which their ſtick is armed, cannot preſent themſelves on one ſide without the frightened animal wiſhing to ſpring on the other. In whatever ſituation you may happen to be, theſe conductors are ſo inattentive, ſo heedleſs, that frequently ſpurring their mules unſeaſonably, they are the cauſe of their wincing on the brinks of the precipices which you have under your feet, and occaſion to the rider a fright ſtill greater than the danger.

"We were advancing acroſs theſe accumulated rocks: we had on our right the harbour, whoſe extent we were completely meaſuring; beyond, the village of Caſtro, or Siſours, ſeated on the ſummit of a lofty, pyramidal hill. Before us, Mount St. Elias ſhowed itſelf almoſt entirely to our eyes*. We croſſed another bank of very hard and very ponderous lava, of a blackiſh gray, after which we found ourſelves on an earthy ſoil, whence we diſcovered the monaſtery where we had reſolved to paſs the night.

"A quarter of a league from the monaſtery, we ſaw a beautiful gypſum extracted from a ſtratum of deep earth, mixed with volcanic aſhes, fragments of pumice-ſtone, and puzzolana. This earthy ſtratum extended to a conſiderable diſtance, and, in ſeveral places, exhibited excavations from which plaſter-ſtone had in like manner been extracted at different periods.

"The friars received us very well, and treated us in their beſt manner. In their houſe we drank very good water, as well as excellent wine; and though they live poorly all the year, and ſubſiſt generally on cheeſe, olives, ſnails, legumes, and fruits, we found there poultry, eggs, herbs, and delicious honey: at the ſame time they ſet before us oranges, apricots, plums, and grapes. Under their roof one may eat excellent mutton, lamb, and kids. The milk there is very good, game abundant, and what is better, no doubt, the air, in this part of the iſland, is very pure and very wholeſome. The ruddy face of theſe caloyers manifeſted ſufficiently that the noxious exhalations of the plain could not reach them.

"The next morning, at ſunriſe, we went to take a walk with the ſuperior round the monaſtery. We ſaw paſſing

* "It is much farther to the weſt than it is laid down on the chart of M. de Choiſeul."

ſome oxen, which were going to graze on the ſtubble. A flock of ſheep was browſing on the circumjacent mountains, and at the ſame time a tolerably great number of goats were on their way to the neighbouring woods. The barley and wheat had been cut for a long time; a part was already trodden out and put by; the other was ſoon to follow it. We traverſed ſome vineyards, ſome orchards of olive-trees, and ſome fields covered with cotton. The grapes were beginning to turn black, the olive-trees appeared loaded with fruit, and the cotton promiſed a good crop.

"On receding from the cultivated fields, we again found every where volcanic productions, and nearly the ſame plants that we had ſeen in the other iſlands; the prickly pinpinella, thymes, creeping wild thymes, ſavories, rock-roſes, arbutuſes, myrtles, and lentiſks. We collected ſome ſeeds and ſome land-ſhells, after which we returned home. The ſuperior carried us into the garden: ſome friars, in order to water it, had repaired thither as ſoon as it was daybreak: it was ſpacious, and kept in tolerably good order: a part was planted with orange-trees, lemon-trees, cedrats, or bergamot citron-trees, fig-trees, and ſeveral other fruit-trees; the other part was intended for garden-ground.

"It was time to breakfaſt and depart. There was ſerved up to us a kid ſtuffed with meat and bacon cut ſmall, with pine kernels, raiſins, and rice: next was brought a pilau made with a very fat hen, then honey, preſerved ſweetmeats made of bergamot-citron, and the ſame kind of fruits as the day before. We were regaled with delicious white wine and excellent coffee. We would willingly have paſſed a few months with theſe worthy friars, had we not had other countries to ſee, other regions to traverſe. We took leave of them when we had viſited their church, and left in the baſin wherewith to remunerate them for the civilities which we had received." *Vol.* ii. *p.* 137.

SITUATION OF THE ANCIENT TOWN —CATACOMBS.

"THE ſite of the ancient town, called Clima by the modern Greeks, has neither been viſited by Tournefort, by M. de Choiſeul, nor by any other traveller, ſince not one of them have ſpoken of it; chance led us thither, and to it too are we indebted for the diſcovery of the ſepulchres which are ſituated to the eaſt of theſe ruins.

"After having paſſed a deep ravine, the hill which we met with was formed of a light white ſtone, partly vitrified, and ſomewhat ſimilar to pumice-ſtone. Here it was probably that the inhabitants of Milo had dug their burying-places at an epoch which is unknown to us. Whoever has ſeen the catacombs in the environs of Alexandria, will here diſcover the ſame genius and the ſame taſte which planned the former. Among them are to be found ſome, which entirely reſemble certain chambers of the catacombs of Egypt, where are ſeen pillars cut in tufa, façades ſculptured round ſarcophagi, and even garlands painted on the cement with which they were coated on the inſide. But thoſe of Milo are, in general, ſmaller than thoſe of Egypt, and we met with but one in this quarter, which was diſtributed into ſeveral chambers, all ſo diſpoſed as to terminate at a common veſtibule.

"As you proceed along the hill, the catacombs become more numerous. Some are ſeen in a few ſteep places, ſeveral rows the one above the other, and ſome are perceived even on the declivity of the oppoſite mountain; but you muſt ſtill go a little farther, and on the very top of the hill, in a place called Trypiti *, in order to be aſtoniſhed at their number, their proximity, and the advantage which the inhabitants had found means to derive anciently from this ſituation, incapable of producing any thing, in order to make of it the aſylum of the dead.

"You deſcend eight or ten ſteps by an aperture two feet wide, and you find yourſelf in a chamber twenty-five or thirty feet long, by eight or ten wide, and eight or nine high. Each of theſe catacombs generally contains ſeven ſarcophagi, three on each ſide, and one alone at the further end; but this was not an invariable rule, ſince, out of the number, we met with ſome, where there were but five ſepulchres, two on each ſide, and one at the further end; others, much ſmaller, where

* "From τρύπα, which ſignifies hole."

three only could be reckoned; and ſome, indeed few in number, where the ſepulchres were to the number of eight, two of which were at the farther end of the chamber.

"Here the places of the dead did not conſiſt in cells deeply dug into the walls of galleries, as are ſeen in the catacombs of Alexandria, but in real ſarcophagi of five feet and a half or ſix feet in length, and of a foot or fifteen inches in depth, ſurmounted by an arch, the whole dug in the rock.

"We perceived Greek characters traced on the ſpace which lies between the top of the arches and the beginning of the roof: but we were unable to decypher them, ſo much were they effaced. We doubt not that perſons more experienced than we were in reading inſcriptions, and who ſhall employ in this reſearch the time neceſſary, may there diſcover intereſting particulars, read perhaps names known in hiſtory, and find at leaſt the period at which the Greeks of Milo wiſhed to preſerve the remains of thoſe whom death had juſt taken away.

"We ſaw ſeveral families ſettled on theſe catacombs: they inhabit huts, and apply themſelves to the culture of the lands which are ſituated below. They avail themſelves of the winter rains to fill with water the greater part of theſe ſepulchral chambers, and diſtribute it, during the ſummer, according to the wants of the ſoil. We ſaw a cultivator employed in deſtroying the ſtaircaſe of one of theſe catacombs, which he was going to transform into a ciſtern: a ſecond was taking away the earth from another, in the ſame intention. A third was making at the foot an outlet, which he was at liberty to open and to ſhut at pleaſure. But in all caſes, whether theſe catacombs were deſerted, or whether they were converted into ciſterns, they all had ſtill the ſarcophagi which we have juſt mentioned.

"We were aſſured, in the country, that ſometimes, in clearing out theſe ſepulchral chambers, there were found urns of earth, vaſes, and other utenſils of the like nature; yet, whatever reſearches we made, it was out of our power to procure any. Some of thoſe to whom we addreſſed ourſelves, told us that they had given or ſold ſeveral to the Ruſſians, in the war before the laſt with the Turks.

"If we conſider the prodigious number of theſe catacombs, by the ſide of the ruins which occupy a rather great extent; if we pay attention to the walls built with ſolidity, to the pillars and to the pieces of marble and granite which evidently belong to temples and ſumptuous edifices; if we reflect on the advantageous poſition of the town within reach of the roadſtead, on an elevated promontory, far from the infections of the plain and the dangerous vapours of the eaſt and ſouth part of the iſland, we cannot forbear to admit that it was formerly the ſite of the capital." *P.* 151.

CANDIA—BEHAVIOUR OF THE PACHA.

"WHEN we arrived in Candia, the vice-conſulate was vacant. We found only a ſimple agent, to whom we communicated the project which we had of viſiting the eaſt and middle part of the iſland before we repaired to Retimo and Canea. The drogueman, a Jew by birth, more officious than we could have wiſhed, came to recommend to us, the day after our arrival, to wait on the pacha, in order to diſcharge, he ſaid, a duty, and to yield to the wiſh which this reſpectable old man had to ſee us, and to conſult us reſpecting his health. 'You will obtain from him,' added he, 'all the accommodation that you can deſire for viſiting the iſland without any danger.'

"Our firſt movement was to refuſe to go to the pacha's, of whom we had nothing to aſk. 'What purpoſe can this viſit anſwer?' ſaid we to the drogueman. 'It is at leaſt uſeleſs. Show him our firmans, tell him who we are, and what we are come here to do: tell him, beſides, that we do not practiſe phyſic, although we gather plants; and give him to underſtand, that it is very frequently dangerous for a perſon to conſult phyſicians when he is in good health.' The drogueman perſiſted: he told us that we could not proceed one ſtep in the iſland if we did not accede to the wiſhes of the pacha. The agent was of his opinion: ſome captains of veſſels, preſent at our converſation, applauded this propoſal: curioſity pleaded alſo in favour of the drogueman: we conſented; and, in the afternoon, we were conducted to the ſeraglio.

"We

"We were firſt received in the apartments of the principal officers, who ſpoke to us with eagerneſs of the French revolution, and of the war which we then had to ſuſtain againſt the natural enemies of the Porte. We replied to all their queſtions with reſerve: this ſubject was too delicate to be treated of in Turkey. We were offered pipes, coffee, ſherbet, and perfumes, after which it was announced to us that the pacha was ready to receive us.

"We had found nothing but ſofas in the apartment of the officers; we ſaw two chairs in that of the pacha, placed at a little diſtance from him. On entering, we made him our ſalutation in the oriental ſtyle, which he returned *. He invited us to ſit down: the drogueman and the agent's ſon ſquatted on a carpet. After the cuſtomary compliments on our ſafe arrival, the pacha ſpoke to us of his health, and begged us to feel his pulſe. He was a good-looking old man, upwards of ſeventy years of age. We complied with his requeſt; we told him that he was in good health, and that he had ſtill upwards of twenty years to live. He appeared ſatisfied with this prediction.

"He afterwards aſked us what was the object of our travels. 'Curioſity 'and the deſire of acquiring know-'ledge,' anſwered we, 'bring us into 'your iſland. We have paſſed ſome 'months at Conſtantinople; we have 'viſited moſt of the iſlands of the Ar-'chipelago; we would wiſh to take a 'look at the celebrated country which 'you govern, and gather ſome of thoſe 'balſamic plants which Heaven has 'here ſcattered with profuſion."—'That cannot be,' ſaid he to us coldly: 'I cannot give you ſuch a permiſſion.' We ſhowed him our firmans, by which we had the power of viſiting all the countries ſubject to the Ottoman government. 'That cannot be,' continued the pacha. We inſtanced ſeveral travellers; we ſpoke of ſeamen, who walk about the iſland with the greateſt freedom, who go a ſhooting, and wherever they pleaſe. The pacha ſtill repeated, 'That cannot be; your 'life would be expoſed: to this I can-'not conſent.'

"He talked to us of gangs of thieves and robbers who infeſted the roads, and who would murder us if we were to go to Mount Ida and to Gortyna, as we wanted. 'That cannot be,' ſaid we in our turn: 'there are no gangs of 'thieves and robbers in a country well 'governed: puniſhment would follow 'too cloſe on guilt, for villains to dare 'to make their appearance.'—'No 'doubt,' ſaid the pacha to us, 'there 'are much fewer robbers ſince I com-'mand; but there are ſtill enough for 'you to be expoſed to loſe your lives.' We deſired the drogueman to cut ſhort a converſation which might become diſagreeable to all, and to obtain permiſſion for us to retire; which was granted.

"We were very much aſtoniſhed at this ſtrictneſs of the pacha, and were endeavouring to divine the cauſe of it, when a word from the drogueman afforded us a ray of light. 'The pacha,' ſaid he to us, 'made a difficulty in 'granting you what you aſked him, 'only becauſe there paſſed not long 'ago a foreigner, who gave him five 'hundred piaſtres for going to ſee I 'forget what ruins, ten leagues from 'this place.'—'Very well,' replied we; 'tell the pacha that we will not pur-'chaſe at ſo dear a rate the ſight of 'ſome heaps of ſtones, and that he 'may commit extortions on the Greeks 'and Jews if he is in want of money: 'as for us, we have not five hundred 'piaſtres, and if we had, we would 'find means to employ them to a better 'purpoſe.' The drogueman endeavoured to get us to conſent to ſome ſmaller ſacrifice. 'Not a piaſtre, not a 'parat,' ſaid we; 'beſides, it ſhould 'not be through your means that we 'would treat, if we ſhould entertain 'ſuch a wiſh.'

"It was uſeleſs, in the preſent circumſtances, to make a longer ſtay in Candia. We reſolved to go, if poſſible, by land to Canea, perſuaded that we ſhould find from the conſul every accommodation of which we ſtood in need. We aſked for a janizary to accompany us; the aga ſent us a man well known, who had been ſettled in the town for a long time: a Turkiſh muleteer, himſelf a janizary, furniſhed

* "It conſiſts in carrying the right hand to the heart, and inclining the head a little. The Turks pronounce between themſelves their *ſalam alaik*, *ſalam alaik-bom*, which they take good care not to ſay to a non-Muſſulman."

ns with horſes, and ſerved us as a guide. We knew that there was nothing to fear from the Greeks, and two janizaries ſettled and married, who publicly undertook to conduct us to Canea, were a ſufficient ſecurity to us. We tranquillized the French ſhip-captains, who expreſſed uneaſineſs on our account. We ſent our baggage by ſea with a Greek ſervant, and ſet out by ourſelves, and without baggage, on the 17th of Thermidor (4th of Auguſt) in the morning.

"Theſe janizaries, born in the iſland, ſpoke Greek very well, and drank wine and brandy ſtill better. We were extremely well ſatisfied with them; and we learnt, even from their mouth, that the pacha had ſpoken to us of robbers only in order to get money, and have a pretext for giving us, at our own expenſe, an eſcort on which he would have levied his claims. I ſhould have ſuppreſſed this anecdote, which is of little importance, had I not thought that it may be uſeful to travellers, and did it not ſhow, at the ſame time, how greedy the agents of the Turkiſh government are after money, and what little delicacy they uſe as to the means of procuring it.

"The environs of Candia preſent a few fertile plains, cultivated, and ſome riſing grounds ſuſceptible of being ſo. At a little diſtance to the ſouth, is ſeen an inflated mountain, in the form of a pyramid, at the foot of which one paſſes in going to viſit the ruins of Gortyna: the Europeans know it by the name of Jupiter's mountain. To the ſouth-weſt, Mount Ida, covered with ſnow almoſt all the year, throws out, on one ſide, ſome branches towards the town; and, on the other, runs to join the mountains of Sphachia, in like manner covered with ſnow during eight or nine months." *Vol.* ii. *p.* 184.

CRETE—GOVERNMENT OF THE AGAS.

"THE iſland of Crete is divided into three pachaliks or governments, the chief places of which are Candia, Canea, and Retimo. In the firſt of theſe towns is a pacha with three tails, *ſeraſkier*, or general in chief of all the forces of the iſland. In the other two, is a pacha with two tails, independent of that of Candia, as to the adminiſtrative part and the police, but ſubject to him in every thing that concerns the military department. All three, in their turn and in their provinces, are to ſuperintend the collection of the impoſt, and the ſafety of the places which are intruſted to them. They are alſo bound to cauſe juſtice to be done by the cadis, and to order their ſentences to be executed, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

"The pachaliks are divided into a certain number of diſtricts, and each diſtrict compriſes, in its extent, a certain number of villages, ſome of which belong to the imperial moſques, ſome to the ſultana-mother; and the greater number, under the name of Malikiane-Agaſſi, are granted for life to agas or lords, in conſideration of a ſum of money, more or leſs great, paid into the imperial treaſury before the firman of inveſtiture, and an annual quit-rent, which is carried into the coffers of the treaſurer of Candia, for the maintenance of the fortreſſes and the pay of the troops of the country.

"All land owners, Greeks or Muſſulmans, pay to the aga, to the moſque, or to the ſultan, a ſeventh of the produce of their lands. They are alſo obliged to carry their olives to the mills which the agas alone have a right to cauſe to be conſtructed. Oil pays a ſeventh; and, what becomes a very important object to the lord, the cruſts *, or miry waters, which remain as an indemnification for the workmen whom he places at the mill for the extraction of the oil, and for the horſes that he furniſhes for the preſſing of the olives.

"The police of the village belongs to the aga: for this purpoſe he appoints a *ſoubachi*, a Muſſulman like himſelf, a ſubaltern tyrant, always more greedy, more untractable, than his maſter. Being an informer of every thing he ſees, of every thing he hears, a troubleſome

* "Cruſts or lees. From theſe a rather conſiderable quantity of oil is drawn, as well as from the waters which have been poured boiling on the lees after the extraction of the virgin oil. Theſe waters are received into large reſervoirs: the oil which detaches itſelf from the lees, or thick part, riſes by degrees to the ſurface of the water."

inquiſitor

inquiſitor into the fortune of all, inceſſantly occupied in ſetting the inhabitants at variance, in fomenting hatred among them, the ſoubachi is the moſt miſchievous being that Turkiſh policy has created for the misfortune of the Greeks. The aga makes uſe of him for puniſhing the ſmalleſt faults, real or ſuppoſed, by arbitrary fines, by impriſonment, and not unfrequently even by the baſtinado.

"The Greeks appoint among themſelves a *capitan*, or primate, charged to conciliate people's minds, and to terminate in an amicable manner the differences which may ariſe among them. He is a juſtice of the peace, to whoſe opinion the wiſeſt always ſubmit, in order to avoid the formidable claw of the cadi, to whoſe tribunal all litigious affairs are carried as a laſt reſort. The primate alſo watches over the intereſt of all. To him it is that the aga addreſſes himſelf when he has orders to give, or requeſts to make; when he requires labourers for the culture of his fields, or for works of public utility. The Greeks alſo appoint a *daſcalos*, or writer, who keeps a regiſter of the names of the inhabitants, of the ſums at which they are taxed for their karatch, and of thoſe which they are to pay the aga after each harveſt.

"No Greek can marry without the permiſſion of the aga, a permiſſion which he muſt purchaſe by a preſent, ſuch as a ſheep, a lamb, or a few fowls. If the fair one pleaſe the aga, he ſometimes keeps her for himſelf, without any one daring to oppoſe it. The cudgel is always ready to ſtrike the reluctant Greek; and woe be to the audacious man who ſhould prefer a complaint to the pacha or to the Porte! He would pay with his fortune, and frequently with his head, for ſuch a ſtep. The aga, in this caſe, marries, in the *kapin* manner, with the free conſent, or what is underſtood to be ſuch, of this woman. Ottoman manners oppoſe his living with her; and if ſhe perſiſted in refuſing to receive his hand, however powerful the aga might be, he would be obliged to deſiſt from his pretenſions. Not unfrequently, after having kept this Greek woman two or three years, he turns her off for another, and marries her to ſome Greek inhabitant of the village, who dare not refuſe her. It is aſſerted, that it is uncommon for a Greek woman not to be flattered at ſharing the bed of her lord, young or old, whatever may be the ſhame which the men attach to it, and the fate that ſhe muſt experience ſooner or later; ſo true is it that here, as elſewhere, authority is ſeductive, and vanity not to be reſiſted.

"Married men are not permitted to quit the iſland, unleſs they are mariners or merchants. There has been ſeen hanging to the maſt of his boat a *karavokeri**, who had dared to infringe this law, and who had, by ſtealth, carried unhappy beings to the Gulf of Epheſus. Bachelors are, nevertheleſs, permitted to go and work in the Morea and elſewhere; but a tax of ſixty parats or two piaſtres a head is required of them before their departure.

"If a murder happen in the village, or on its territory, and the delinquent be not known, the aga muſt pay to the pacha a ſum of money, which he levies on all the inhabitants. He retains a part for himſelf: this is the cuſtom in Turkey; never does money paſs through the hands of a man without his keeping a portion of it. Taxes here are always arbitrary, and more or leſs heavy, according to the population and the circumſtances of the inhabitants. If it be a Muſſulman who has been found dead, the ſum demanded is exorbitant, becauſe religion has been outraged in one of its members. Such an aſſaſſination, beſides, is almoſt always followed by the death of ſeveral Greeks. The relations and friends of the deceaſed think it their duty, and that their honour is intereſted, to aſſaſſinate, in their turn, the firſt inhabitants that happen to fall in their way; and though the law does not authorize them to do this, and ought even to puniſh them, they are almoſt always abſolved by popular opinion.

"If a Greek have committed a ſerious offence, or if he be accuſed of any, which amounts nearly to the ſame thing, the pacha intervenes, and demands the delinquent, in order to have him tried and condemned. For this purpoſe he muſt apply to the aga, who gives him up immediately, or defends

* "Maſter or captain of a bark, boat, or veſſel."

ſends him till after the ſentence of the cadi. The Greek often gets out of a ſcrape, by means of the arrangements which he enters into with his aga, and of the ſacrifices which he makes towards him and the pacha. He who has nothing, pays with his head; he who poſſeſſes ſomething, is inceſſantly expoſed to loſe it, as has been ſhown: this depends on the will of the pacha, and frequently too on that of the foubachi.

"With all the means which the law of the ſtrongeſt has put into the hands of the aga, it may well be ſuſpected that he never fails to abuſe them, and to ſqueeze as much as he can the unfortunate cultivators. For inſtance, he purchaſes, at a low price, their commodities (with the exception of wine), which he generally does not pay for till after he has ſold them, and derived from them conſiderable profit.

"All that I have juſt ſaid is applicable only to the Greek villages ſubject to the agas. Thoſe which belong to moſques, or to the ſultana-mother, are ſomewhat leſs oppreſſed than the others, becauſe the cultivators may have their complaints heard by the ſultan or the inſpectors of the moſques, who are intereſted in protecting them againſt the agents that they employ for the recovery of their rights. The Turkiſh villages, like thoſe of the Greeks, are ſubject to the police of the aga. Owners of eſtates pay in the ſame manner; but they are all exempt from gratuitous labour, and the aga would ſoon be diſplaced and puniſhed, if all the inhabitants preferred at once their complaints to the pacha, or to the Porte, againſt any injuſtice of too revolting a nature.

"It is unneceſſary to repeat here that the Greeks can neither occupy employments emanating from the government, nor can be admitted into any corps of troops, unleſs they have embraced the religion of Mahomet.

"Thus it is that the iſland, which ſo long proſpered under the laws of Minos, is at this day governed; thus it is that the inhabitants of a country, where liberty in a manner took birth, are bent under the yoke of the moſt ſhameful ſlavery, notwithſtanding the ſea which ſurrounds them, and the mountains by which they are defended." *P.* 202.

THE SPHACHIOTS.

"THE inhabitants of the high mountains ſituated to the ſouth of Canea and Retimo, are conſidered as the real deſcendants of thoſe famous Cretans ſo long maſters of the country. Known at the preſent day under the name of *Sphachiots*, they are diſtinguiſhed from the other Greeks by their tall ſtature, by their handſome look, by their love of liberty, by their courage, their ſkill, and, above all, by the hatred which they have vowed againſt the uſurpers of their iſland.

"Mountains have been at all times, and among all nations, the laſt aſylum of liberty, as they have always been the abode of ſtrength and health. A rugged untractable ſoil, which affords little ſubſiſtence, which compels man to a long and obſtinate labour, which ſubjects him to ſobriety, and condemns him to all ſorts of privations, ſcarcely tempts conquering nations; when every rock, beſides, is transformed into a fortreſs; when it is neceſſary to fight at every ſtep vigorous, energetic men, who defend with obſtinacy the ſoil which has given them birth, and the independence which it procures them.

"Under the Romans, under the Saracens, under the Venetians, and under the Turks, the Sphachiots had found means to preſerve their laws and their cuſtoms. They annually appointed their magiſtrates in the general aſſemblies of the people. Obliged by the Turks to tranſport, in ſummer, from the top of their mountains, the ice neceſſary for the conſumption of the inhabitants of Canea and Retimo, they paid no tax, no impoſt; they had no agas; they never ſaw among them the agents of the Turkiſh government; they formed, in a word, a republic in ſome meaſure independent, when, in 1769, ſome Ruſſian emiſſaries came to diſturb the peace, and impair the happineſs which theſe privileged Greeks enjoyed on their mountains.

"Whether Catharine had really conceived the project of expelling the Turks from Europe, and of placing her grandſon on the throne of Conſtantine; whether ſhe wiſhed only to call the attention of her enemies to a diſtance from the places whither ſhe was going to carry her principal forces; it is certain that, on the unexpected appearance of ſome Ruſſian line-of-battle

battle ſhips, in February 1770, in the environs of Coron and of Navarin, all the Greeks of the Morea, thoſe of Macedonia and of Epirus, and the greater part of thoſe of the Archipelago, roſe at the ſame inſtant, flew to arms, and manifeſted a courage of which they were not thought capable. At this period twenty thouſand muſkets diſtributed opportunely, and ten thouſand Ruſſians commanded by experienced generals, would certainly have produced, throughout European Turkey, a revolution which would for ever have delivered the Greeks of thoſe countries from the Ottoman yoke.

"The Sphachiots, in theſe circumſtances, were not the laſt to take up arms. Some hundreds of the braveſt among them went and joined the Mainots their friends, and proceeded together to offer their ſervices to Count Orloff. A greater number were preparing to ſet out, when they received an account that the Ruſſians, who had but three ſhips of the line and two frigates, which were deſtitute of military ſtores and land forces, had raiſed the ſiege of Coron, and deſerted the Greeks, who had already made themſelves maſters of Navarin, Patras, Miſitra, and ſome other towns leſs important.

"The Albanian Muſſulmans, againſt whom no precaution had been taken, either by ſea or by land; they, who a few batteries on the Iſthmus of Corinth, and a few veſſels of ſmall force in the Gulfs of Lepante and Athens, would have prevented from coming into the Morea, immediately ſpread themſelves over that peninſula, beat every where the Greeks, diſheartened by the unexpected retreat of the Ruſſians, and made among them a horrible ſlaughter. The ravage which theſe Albanians committed on that unfortunate land, will never be repaired as long as the Turks ſhall be maſters of thoſe countries, and the caprice of a few rulers ſhall be able to diſpoſe of the fortunes and the lives of the inhabitants.

"The pacha of Candia, informed of the conduct of the Sphachiots, reſolved, in the ſame year 1770, to march againſt them with all the forces of the iſland. He wiſhed to exterminate them, and by thoſe means afford a terrible example of ſeverity to all the Greeks who might be tempted to imitate them. The Turks always ready to fight when they are perſuaded that there are Chriſtians to be killed, towns to be plundered, boys and girls to be violated, and ſlaves of all ages and of both ſexes to be ſold, were ſoon united under their colours. Soldiers and cultivators, traders and workmen, all wiſhed to take a part in this expedition. Fifteen thouſand men, armed at all points, arrived in a few days at the neareſt mountains, on which they found not one inhabitant. The women and children of the Sphachiots, accompanied by the old men and the infirm, had gained the moſt elevated ſpots, and the moſt inacceſſible places. Thoſe whoſe age allowed them to handle a muſket or a ſword, to the number of upwards of two thouſand, poſted with intelligence at the ſecond chain of their mountains, diſputed with courage every rock, ſtopped for a long time at every gorge the Turks by no means habituated to this manner of fighting; and when a paſſage was forced, or a rock carried, the Sphachiots, lightly clothed, and lightly armed, accuſtomed to climb mountains, diſappeared in a moment; while the Turk, who knows not how to fight but on horſeback, who is both heavily clothed, and heavily armed, could not follow his enemy acroſs the rocks and precipices, which it was neceſſary to clear, in order to reach him.

"During the whole ſummer the Turks diſplayed a great deal of perſeverance in fighting the Sphachiots; but being afterwards ſurpriſed at a reſiſtance which they did not expect, diſappointed in their hopes, frightened at the approaches of the cold, and tired of a painful and diſagreeable war, they loudly demanded to return home. The Sphachiots, on their ſide, found themſelves reduced to the laſt extremity: almoſt all their villages had been ſet on fire; a great number of their women and children had been carried off; they had loſt their flocks; their proviſions were exhauſted; and the earth, which they could not cultivate, no longer afforded them any thing; ſo that they received with pleaſure the firſt propoſals that were made to them: they conſented to pay the annual tribute to which all the Greeks are ſubject; and, by theſe means they were enabled

enabled to return to their habitations, and continue their barter with the maritime towns.

"As the Turks, on this occaſion, had not been able to take with them horſes, and to cauſe themſelves to be followed by beaſts of burden, they had thought of loading three or four thouſand Greeks with their baggage; and in the different battles which they had to fight, they placed theſe Greeks in front of them, in order to make themſelves a rampart of their bodies.

"This trait of barbarity and cowardice, which was related to us by a great number of Sphachiots, was what moſt affected theſe brave mountaineers, and what moſt contributed to reduce them to a deplorable condition. Frequently they durſt not fire on their enemies, for fear of hitting thoſe whom they conſidered as their brothers, ſtill more unfortunate than themſelves." *Vol.* ii. *p.* 209.

CXIV. *Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society of London*, for the Year 1801. 4to. Part II. pp. 213. With 17 Plates. 17s. 6d. *Elmſly.*

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EXTRACTS.

ON THE NATURE OF THE SUN—ON THE APPEARANCE AND DISAPPEARANCE OF SOLAR SPOTS.

"THE influence of this eminent body on the globe we inhabit is ſo great and ſo widely diffuſed, that it becomes almoſt a duty for us to ſtudy the operations which are carried on upon the ſolar ſurface. Since light and heat are ſo eſſential to our well-being, it muſt certainly be right for us to look into the ſource from whence they are derived, in order to ſee whether ſome material advantage may not be drawn from a thorough acquaintance with the cauſes from which they originate.

"A ſimilar motive engaged the Egyptians formerly to ſtudy and watch the motions of the Nile; and to conſtruct inſtruments for meaſuring its riſe with accuracy. They knew very well, that it was not in their power to add a ſingle inch to the flowing waters of that wonderful river; and ſo, in the caſe of the ſun's influence, we are likewiſe fully aware, that we ſhall never be able to occaſion the leaſt alteration in the operations which are carried on in the ſolar atmoſphere. But, if the Egyptians could avail themſelves of the indications of a good nilometer, what ſhould hinder us from drawing as profitable conſequences from ſolar obſervations? We are not only in poſſeſſion of photometers and thermome-

ters, by which we can meaſure from time to time the light and heat actually received from the ſun, but have more eſpecially teleſcopes, that may lead us to a diſcovery of the cauſes which diſpoſe the ſun to emit more or leſs copiouſly the rays which occaſion either of them. And, if we ſhould even fail in this reſpect, we may at leaſt ſucceed in becoming acquainted with certain ſymptoms or indications, from which ſome judgment might be formed of the temperature of the ſeaſons we are likely to have.

" Perhaps our confidence in ſolar obſervations made with this view, might not exceed that which we now place on the indications of a good barometer, with regard to rain or fair weather; but, even then, a probability of a hot ſummer, or its contrary, would always be of greater conſequence than the expectation of a few fair or rainy days." *P.* 265.

" With regard to the effects of the influence of the ſun, we know already, that in the ſame latitudes the ſeaſons differ widely in temperature; that it is not hotteſt at noon, or coldeſt at midnight; that the ſhorteſt day is neither attended with the ſevereſt froſts, nor the longeſt day with the moſt oppreſſing heats; that large foreſts, lakes, moraſſes, and ſwamps, affect the temperature one way; and rocky, ſandy, gravelly, and barren ſituations, in a contrary manner; that the ſeaſons of iſlands are conſiderably different from thoſe of large continents, and ſo forth." *P.* 312.

" Reſpecting the contemporary ſeverity and mildneſs of the ſeaſons, it will hardly be neceſſary to remark, that nothing deciſive can be obtained. But, if we are deficient here, an indirect ſource of information is opened to us, by applying to the influence of the ſun-beams on the vegetation of wheat in this country. I do not mean to ſay, that this is a real criterion of the quantity of light and heat emanated from the ſun; much leſs will the price of this article completely repreſent the ſcarcity or abundance of the abſolute produce of the country. For the price of commodities will certainly be regulated by the demand for them; and this we know is liable to be affected by many fortuitous circumſtances. However, although an argument drawn from a well aſcertained price of wheat, may not apply directly to our preſent purpoſe, yet, admitting the ſun to be the ultimate fountain of fertility, this ſubject may deſerve a ſhort inveſtigation, eſpecially as, for want of proper thermometrical obſervations, no other method is left for our choice.

" Our hiſtorical account of the diſappearance of the ſpots in the ſun, contains five very irregular and very unequal periods*. The firſt takes in a ſeries of twenty-one years, from 1650 to 1670, both included. But it is ſo imperfectly recorded, that it is hardly ſafe to draw any concluſions from it; for we have only a few obſervations of one or two ſpots that were ſeen in all that time, and thoſe were only obſerved for a ſhort continuance. However, on examining the table of the prices of the quarter of nine buſhels of the beſt or higheſt priced wheat at Windſor, marked in Dr. Adam Smith's valuable Inquiry into the Nature and Cauſes of the Wealth of Nations†, we find that wheat, during the time of the twenty-one years above mentioned, bore a very high price; the average of the quarter being 2*l.* 10*s.* 5$\frac{5}{7}$*d.* This period is much too long to ſuppoſe that we might ſafely compare it with a preceding or following one of equal duration. Beſides, no particulars having been given of the time preceding, except that ſpots in the ſun, a good while before, began to grow very ſcarce, there might even be fewer of them than from the year 1650 to 1670. Of the twenty-one years immediately following, we know that they certainly comprehend two ſhort periods, in which there were no ſpots on the ſun; of theſe more will be ſaid hereafter; but, including even them, we have the average price of wheat, from 1671 to 1691, only 2*l.* 4*s.* 4$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* the quarter. The difference, which is a little more than as nine to eight, is therefore ſtill a proof of a temporary ſcarcity.

" Our next period is much better aſcertained. It begins in December

* " See Aſtronomie par M. De la Lande, § 3135."

† " See Book I. Chap. XI."

1676, which year therefore we should not take in, and goes to April 1684; in all which time, Flamsteed, who was then observing, saw no spot in the sun. The average price of wheat, during these eight years, was *2l. 7s. 7d.* the quarter. We cannot justly compare this price with that of the preceding eight years, as some of the former years of scarcity would come into that period; but the eight years immediately following, that is, from 1685 to 1692, both included, give an average price of no more than *1l. 17s. 1¼d.* The difference, which is as full five to four, is well deserving our notice.

"A third, but very short period, is from the year 1686 to 1688, in which time Cassini could find no spot in the sun. If both years be included, we have the average price of wheat, for those three years, *1l. 15s. 0¾d.* the quarter. We ought not to compare this price with that of the three preceding years, as two of them belong to the preceding period of scarcity; but the three following years give the average price for the quarter of wheat *1l. 12s. 10⅝d.* or, as nearly eleven to ten.

"The fourth period on record, is from the year 1695 to 1700, in which time no spot could be found in the sun. This makes a period of five years; for, in 1700 the spots were seen again. The average price of wheat, in these years, was *3l. 3s. 3¼d.* the quarter. The five preceding years, from 1690 to 1694, give *2l. 9s. 4¼d.* and the five following years, from 1700 to 1704, give *1l. 17s. 11¾d.* These differences are both very considerable; the last is not less than five to three.

"The fifth period extends from 1710 to 1713; but here there was one spot seen in 1710, none in 1711 and 1712, and again one spot only in 1713. The account of the average price of wheat, for these four years, is *2l. 17s. 4d.* the quarter. The preceding four years, from 1706 to 1709, give the price *2l. 3s. 7½d.* and the following years, from 1714 to 1718, it was *2l. 6s. 9d.* When the astronomical account of the sun for this period, which has been stated above, is considered, these two differences will be found very considerable; the first of them being nearly as four to three.

"The result of this review of the foregoing five periods is, that, from the price of wheat, it seems probable that some temporary scarcity or defect of vegetation has generally taken place, when the sun has been without those appearances which we surmise to be symptoms of a copious emission of light and heat. In order, however, to make this an argument in favour of our hypothesis, even if the reality of a defective vegetation of grain were sufficiently established by its enhanced price, it would still be necessary to show that a deficiency of the solar beams had been the occasion of it. Now, those who are acquainted with agriculture may remark, that wheat is well known to grow in climates much colder than ours; and that a proper distribution of rain and dry weather, with many other circumstances which it will not be necessary to mention, are probably of much greater consequence than the absolute quantity of light and heat derived from the sun. To this I shall only suggest, by way of answer, that those very circumstances of proper alterations of rain, dry weather, winds, or whatever else may contribute to favour vegetation in this climate, may possibly depend on a certain quantity of sun-beams, transmitted to us at proper times: but, this being a point which can only be ascertained by future observations, I forbear entering farther into a discussion of it.

"It will be thought remarkable, that no later periods of the disappearance of the solar spots can be found. The reason, however, is obvious. The perfection of instruments, and the increased number of observers, have produced an account of solar spots, which, from their smallness, or their short appearance, would probably have been overlooked in former times. If we should in future only reckon the years of the total absence of solar spots, even that remarkable period of scarcity which has fallen under my own observation, in which, nevertheless, I have now and then seen a few spots of short duration and of no great magnitude, could not be admitted.

"For this reason, we ought now to distinguish our solar observations, by reducing them to short periods of

symptoms

symptoms for or against a copious emission of the solar beams, in which all the phenomena we have pointed out should be noticed. The most striking of them are certainly the number, magnitude, and duration of the openings. The increase and decrease of the luminous appearance of the corrugations is perhaps full as essential; but, as it is probable that their brilliancy may be a consequence of the abundance of the former phenomena, an attention to the latter, which is subject to great difficulties, and requires the very best of telescopes, may not be so necessary.

"What remains to be added is but short. In the first of my two series of observations, I have pointed out a deficiency in what appears to be the symptomatic disposition of the sun for emitting light and heat: it has lasted, from the year 1795 to 1800 *. That we have had a considerable deficiency in the vegetation of grain, will hardly require any proof. The second series, or rather the commencement of it, for I hope it will last long, has pointed out a favourable return of the rich appearance of the sun. This, if I may venture to judge, will probably occasion a return of such seasons as, in the end, will be attended by all their usual fertility.

"The subject, however, being so new, it will be proper to conclude, by adding, that this prediction ought not to be relied on by any one, with more confidence than the arguments which have been brought forwards in this Paper may appear to deserve." *P.* 313.

CXV. *An History of the original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitherne*, in the Counties of Lancaster and York. By THOMAS DUNHAM WHITAKER, LL. D. Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. 4to. pp. 483. 3l. 3s. Blackburn printed; *Hatchard*, London.

LIST OF PLATES,

Drawn by Turner, and Engraved by Basire.

MAP adapted to the History.
Ædes Towneleianæ.
Locus Benedictus de Whalley (three Views).
Ground Plan of the Abbey of Whalley.
Clitheroe, from Eadsford Bridge.
Brownsholme.
Huntroyd.
Gawthorp.
The Hall of Radcliffe Tower.
Stonyhurst.
The Hall at Little Mitton.
The Sherburne Chapel in Mitton Church.
Three Plates of Antiquities.
Five Plates of Seals.

EXTRACTS.

WILLIAM HEATLEY,

"BORN at Dunkenhalgh, now a very aged man, and abbot of the English Benedictine Monastery of Lambspring, to which an independent principality is annexed. Having been disappointed in the necessary information with respect to the life of this dignitary, I have to regret the barrenness of the present article; yet am unwilling to lose an opportunity of recording, among the living natives of the parish of Whalley, a small ecclesiastical sovereign. For while the great spiritual electors of Germany have been borne down by the tempest which now rages over Europe, it is the privilege of the abbot of Lambspring, insulated by the barren plains of Westphalia, to have little but the primitive wealth of mast and hogs to attract the plunderers of mankind; and while the fertile banks of the Rhine continue from year to year a field of blood, this diminutive prince remains undisturbed, and may end his days in the peaceful retirement of his own cloisters." *P.* 460.

* "This period should properly have been divided into two small ones; but, for want of intermediate solar observations, I have joined the visible deficiencies in the illuminating and heating powers of the sun, from the year 1795 to 1796, and again from 1798 to 1800, into one."

JOHN TOWNLEY,

" GRANDSON of Richard Townley, Esq. and younger son of Charles Townley, Esq. by Ursula Fermor, was born at Townley, 1697, and having been originally intended for the law, was placed in the office of the famous Salkeld. But his inclination leading him to prefer a military life, he entered into the French service, and was present at the siege of Philipsburgh, where the Marshal Duc de Berwick was killed. He was afterwards honoured with the Cross of St. Louis.

" Having spoken, in company with Voltaire, and other wits of the time, at Paris, of the English Poem of Hudibras, and translated some small portions of that inimitable work almost extempore, he was induced to attempt a version of the whole, which he published with the following title:

" ' Hudibras Poëme, Escrit dans le ' Tems des Troubles d'Angleterre; et ' Traduit en Vers François, avec des ' Remarques et des Figures.—A Lon- ' dres, 1757.'

" With what success he achieved a task of such extreme difficulty, may be conjectured from the following extract, notwithstanding its brevity.

' An old dull sot, who told the clock
' For many years at Bridwell Dock,
' At Westminster, and Hicks's Hall,
' And Hiccius Doctius play'd in all;
' Wherein all governments and times
' H' had been both friend and foe to crimes,
' And us'd two equal ways of gaining,
' By hind'ring Justice, or maintaining:'

' Un vieux Sot, qui comploit les heures
' Constamment près de ces demeures
' Où sont logés fripons et gueux.
' A Westminster et d'autres Lieux,
' Ou la justice se debite,
' Il etoit partout émérite.
' Là, sous chaque Gouvernement
' Il alloit indifferemment
' Poursuivre, ou defendre le crime,
' Et par cette double maxime,
' Il gagnoit a Solliciter
' Justice, comme a l'empecher.'

" The following inscription, under an engraving from a miniature portrait, in the possession of his nephew, will supply the dates wanted to complete this short account.

" ' Ad impertiendum amicis inter ' Gallos, Linguæ Anglicanæ non nihil ' peritis facetum Poema Hudibras Dic- ' tum, accurate festiveque Gallice co- ' nuertit Hrc. JOHANNES TOWNE- ' LEY, Caroli Towneley, de Towne- ' ley, in Agro Lancastrienſi filius. Na- ' tus A. D. 1697——Denatus A. D. ' 1782. Grato pioque animo fieri cu- ' ravit Johannes Towneley nepos.— ' A. D. 1797'." *P.* 466.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE.

" A GENERAL history of English economics, if executed with taste and spirit, would be an amusing and interesting work. The following observations embrace only the subject of a single, though important chapter in such a volume, extend merely over a remote provincial district, and are animated by little more than an ardent desire of investigating every appearance which can illustrate the manners of our ancestors.

" Into what recesses of their native woods, the inclemency of this climate drove the *Setantii*, what caves they scooped out of the earth, or what cabins they framed for shelter, it were now as idle to inquire, as it would be to investigate where the foxes of those days burrowed, or the ravens built their nests. Their attempts to lodge or secure themselves were slight and indolent; in fact, they were careless of self-accommodation, and at a time when whole tribes must have been convoked to rear the massy columns of a temple, they seem to have had no conception of the use of stone in the construction of dwellings, or even for the purposes of fortification. Superstition is evidently the first and most active principle in the mind of a savage.

" What was the general style and disposition of Roman villas we know, and those which had been extended round the common centre of Coccium, if any such there were, would only differ from those of Italy, as the first erections of a planter in America vary from the house and offices of an English gentleman at home.

" The Saxons, among us, without even the exception of churches, built universally with wood: it is therefore no wonder that after the lapse of eight centuries, every memorial of such structures

ſtructures ſhould have periſhed. Beſides, their houſes, with ſome exceptions, adapted to their general habits, would be rude, and low, and ſmall.

"After the Conqueſt, our native foreſts remaining with little diminution, the uſe of wood in the conſtruction of houſes continued to be general; and the firſt deviation from this practice was introduced by the practice of kernelling and embattling manor houſes, of which more hereafter. It is difficult to aſſign with exactneſs the æra of buildings which have no inſcribed dates, and of whoſe erection there are no records. But perhaps we may refer the oldeſt ſpecimens of architecture in wood, now remaining among us, to the time of Edward I. Inſtances of this ſtyle are found alike in the halls of ſome ancient manor houſes, and their gigantic barns, which are little leſs rude than the other. The peculiar marks by which they are diſtinguiſhed are theſe: the whole ſtructure has been originally a frame of wood-work, independent of walls; the principals conſiſting of deep flat beams of maſſy oak, naturally curved, and of which each pair ſeems to have been ſawed out of the ſame trunk. Theſe ſpring from the ground, and form a bold Gothic arch overhead; the ſpars reſt upon a wall plate, as that is again ſuſtained by horizontal ſpurs, grooved into the principals. It was then of no importance that ſuch erections conſumed great quantities of the fineſt ſhip-timber; and indeed the appearance of one of theſe rooms is preciſely that of the hull of a great ſhip inverted, and ſeen from within. Specimens of this moſt ancient ſtyle, in perfection, are the Old Hall of the Manor Houſe, at Samleſbury, and the Lawſing Stedes Barn, at Whalley *. In the reign of Henry IV. we have a ſpecimen in the hall at Radcliff, of a deviation from this primitive model; there the principals have two ſpringers, one from the ground, another from a rude capital, about eight feet from the ground; but the ſquare of the building is conſiderably raiſed, and the arch encroaches leſs upon the apartment within. The ſtyle of architecture in wood evidently kept pace with that in ſtone; and when in the time of Henry VII. the arch in ſtone-work became broader and more depreſſed in the centre, a correſpondent change was introduced in our ancient timber buildings. Wooden paſterns indeed ſtill deſcended to the ground, but they were now become perpendicular, and ſquare, and fluted; from the top of theſe, elegant and ornamental ſpringers received horizontal roof beams, while all was ſtill open to the roof above, and the rafters continued to reſt on a wall plate. Thus the idea of a complete frame, independently of the walls, was ſtill preſerved; but the low baſement ſtory of ſtone, ſometimes to be obſerved in our moſt ancient buildings, now advanced to the ſquare, though the croſs pikes are generally of wood. This preciſely deſcribes the hall of Little Mitton, and another noble ſpecimen of ſomewhat later date, the weſt wing of Samleſbury Hall, built by Sir Thomas Southworth, A. D. 1532, of which the outer wall, however, is brick, and the earlieſt ſpecimen of that material with which I am acquainted in the compaſs of this work. The wood employed in the conſtruction of this laſt manſion, muſt almoſt have laid proſtrate a foreſt; and while the principal timbers were carved with great elegance, and the compartments of the roof painted with figures of ſaints, while the outſides of the building are adorned with profile heads of wood, cut in bold relief within huge medallions, it is curious to obſerve that the inner doors are without a pannel or a lock, and have always been opened, like thoſe of modern cottages, with a latch and ſtring. I am not ſure that pannelling in wainſcot was introduced before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is alſo remarkable, that in this houſe the boards of the upper floors, which are indeed maſſy planks, inſtead of croſſing, lie parallel to the joyſts, as if diſdaining to be indebted to the other for ſupport.

"Immediately on the diſuſe of timber buildings, the obtuſe arched roof was exploded, and a flat roof, divided into ſquare compartments by contignations of wood, was introduced, and continued in halls more than a century after. Here, however, for a time, the

* "Here, inſtead of walls, there are nothing but oak boards fixed diagonally, like a Venetian blind."

croſs

croſs timbers were fluted, and the light perforated ſpringers occaſioned the tranſition to be leſs obſerved. Theſe were afterwards ſucceeded by plain corbels of ſtone, and the mouldings omitted.

"The general decay of native woods, occaſioned an univerſal diſuſe of this material in buildings about the latter end of Henry VIII.'s time: the firſt inſtance of an entire hall houſe, of brick and ſtone, is Stubley, near Rochdale, unqueſtionably of that period; and in the reign of Elizabeth, which was a new æra in domeſtic architecture, numbers of old timber halls having gone to decay, were replaced by ſtrong and plain manſions of ſtone, yet remaining." *P.* 472.

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